MARCH 19, 2018

TIME

Ripped Apart

THE COST OF AMERICA'S IMMIGRATION CRACKDOWN

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

An undocumented woman with two of her daughters. Her husband was deported to Mexico

CHEVY. THE ONLY BRAND TO EARN J.D. POWER DEPENDABILITY AWARDS FOR CARS, TRUCKS AND SUVS. TWO YEARS IN A ROW.

Current awards based on 2013 and 2014 model year vehicles.

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2017 "MOST DEPENDABLE SMALL CAR, LARGE SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"
2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"

The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2015. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com.

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The rope used to execute former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is in the Baghdad home of Mowaffak al-Rubaie, who witnessed the hanging

Photograph by Emanuele Satolli for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Michele Asselin for TIME*

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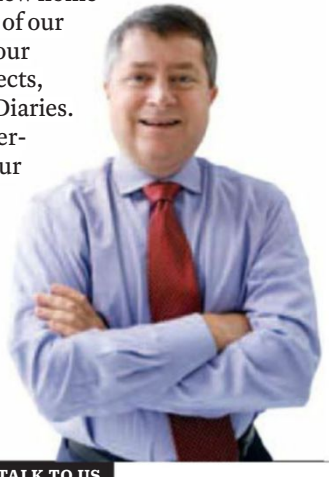
A New Look

CHANGE IS A TRADITION AT *TIME,* I NOTED IN MY FIRST letter to readers in this space. As we approach our first century—this week marks our 95th year—we continue to evolve, in ways large and small, to tell the story of these extraordinary times.

Beginning with this issue, longtime readers will notice a few additions and changes. One of TIME's greatest assets is our access to the world's most influential voices. A new feature, "TIME with …," pairs one of our correspondents with a major newsmaker. This week, Washington bureau chief Massimo Calabresi talks with California Congressman Adam Schiff, a cautious, wonky lawyer who is suddenly stirring passions on all sides of the investigation into Russian influence on the 2016 election. Elsewhere in the issue, correspondent Vivienne Walt travels to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi on the 15th anniversary of the U.S. invasion. And you'll meet Dominique Crenn, the first woman in the U.S. to receive two Michelin stars—part of our ongoing Firsts project, which features trailblazing women who have shattered glass ceilings in their fields.

In the Brief and View sections, a crisp new format showcases the latest developments in health and business as well as the best of our robust opinion coverage. We are also expanding the range of topics in our Time Off section. TIME has always been not just about what to know but also about what to do. With help from the experts at our sister publications such as *Food & Wine* and *Parents,* we will have enhanced coverage of lifestyle. Finally, you'll see a tighter connection between the magazine and our digital report; the latter last month reached the second largest audience in its history. TIME.com has been undergoing a redesign as well, including in a few weeks a new home page that will highlight the work of our Emmy-winning video team and our highest-impact multimedia projects, from Firsts to the recent Opioid Diaries.

We are grateful for your readership and, as always, welcome your feedback.



Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

An epidemic in focus

Conflict photographer James Nachtwey *(above)* presented his work on the U.S. opioid epidemic—a special report for TIME's March 5 issue—at the Newseum in Washington on March 6. At the event, Democratic Senator Maggie Hassan of New Hampshire called on President Trump to fill open positions in drug policy and enforcement and to fund programs for prevention and recovery. Outside the Beltway, readers continued to respond to the issue. Kathy Lovejoy of Pittsburgh said the cover image "could have been [her] grandson," who overdosed on fentanyl. Jeanie Quinn of Saginaw, Mich., whose son died the same way, was "overwhelmed" by the coverage and the idea that she "simply was not equipped to know" how to help him. "Thank you for waking me up!" wrote Sharon Keating of Sarasota, Fla. See video from the Newseum at **time.com/opioids-event**

BEHIND THE SCENES
TIME correspondent Vivienne Walt *(above)* meets with Iraq's Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi in Baghdad. In this week's issue *(page 42),* Walt—who also recently interviewed France's President Emmanuel Macron—looks at where Iraq stands 15 years after President George W. Bush launched Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In "Inside the Racing Mind of the Best Skier on Earth" (Feb. 12), we misspelled the name of Mikaela Shiffrin's best friend. She is Bug Pech.

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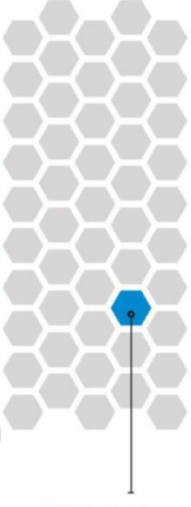
NACHTWEY: TASOS KATOPODIS—GETTY IMAGES FOR TIME; IRAQ: EMANUELE SATOLLI FOR TIME

OUR THIRSTY PLANET

In a decade, the world may need twice as much water as it has access to. Water woes are vast—and go way beyond a bottled water habit. But solutions are everywhere.



100 gallons
Amount of water a typical U.S. household uses each day from—among other things—flushing toilets and brushing teeth.

5,000 gallons
Total daily water footprint for a typical U.S. household, including the water that grew its food and made its clothes.

Story and graphic by Katie Peek

To learn more, visit **Eartheos.com/savewater**

RESIDENTS OF Cape Town, South Africa, are awaiting "Day Zero." That's the day—likely this summer—the city will shut off its taps. Faucets will stay off until it rains. The city is in the midst of its worst drought in a century, and the reservoirs it relies on are nearly dry.

Cape Town isn't alone. California towns are still reeling from the record-breaking drought. Demand for Colorado River water is expected to far exceed the available supply. And the Great Salt Lake has half the volume it did when settlers arrived in the mid-1800s.

A growing, modernizing world is commanding more water than ever before. And in many places, climate change is making it harder for city planners to supply it reliably.

But for all the global hand-wringing, water remains remote—prosaic, even—for those who consume the most of it. Turn on a tap, and out it comes. From where? That's the city's job. The source of the water remains a mystery to many.

Mina Guli wants to change that. Guli, a corporate lawyer turned water activist, sees water as humanity's greatest challenge. And she wants to help others see it that way, too.

Guli is undertaking a Herculean task, to be announced on World Water Day this March 22. It's a 100-day global expedition, where she will visit factories and farms, talk with water users and water suppliers, and learn about effective water-conservation solutions that have popped up around the world. Oh, and on every one of those 100 days, she'll also run a marathon.

"Why am I doing this crazy thing?" Guli asks. "Water scarcity is just such a huge problem. I want to bring attention to the world's water crisis—and inspire people to solve it. Together."

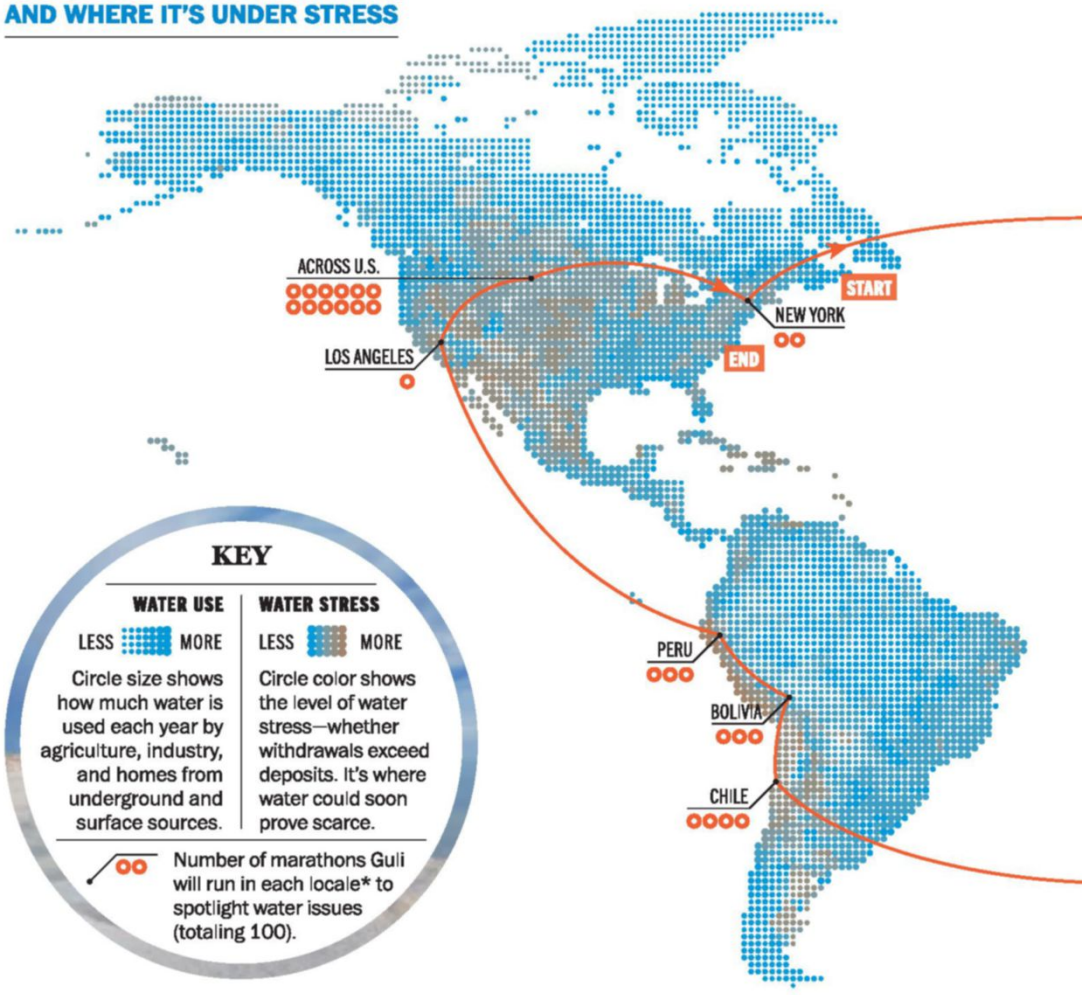
Sponsored by Colgate, Guli will start her #RunningDry journey in New York this fall, backed by a small team to help with logistics. Here's a preview of where she plans to go and the issues she hopes to explore.

WATER BEARER
Mina Guli, a lawyer and activist based in Hong Kong, will run 100 marathons in 100 days to highlight key water issues worldwide.

TURN THE PAGE TO SEE WHERE WATER IS UNDER PRESSURE

FROM TOP: FRANK MCKENNA; KELVIN TROUTMAN

WATER: WHERE IT COMES FROM, AND WHERE IT'S UNDER STRESS



1 Invisible Uses

MORE THAN 95 PERCENT of water use worldwide occurs outside the home. The water irrigates fields where food grows and extracts the oil that helps transport that food to market. It mines gold and waters lawns. Here's where people, farms, and industries use the most water—including the unseen flows.

WORLDWIDE

370,000 gallons a year per person

The infamous eight 8-oz. glasses of water per day? That's a mere 180 gallons a year per person. Total water consumption is 2,000 times as much.

UNITED STATES

750,000 gallons a year per person

The U.S. has one of the highest per-capita water footprints in the world. As elsewhere, food is the biggest water-user here. Grain, cotton, sugar, and nuts are among the thirstiest crops.

THE NETHERLANDS

390,000 gallons a year per person

Here, the total footprint is 20 times the water consumed inside the country's borders. That extra water makes goods and food that are later imported.

INDIA

290,000 gallons a year per person

India's overall water use is relatively modest, but its textile industry is very thirsty. Cotton production here takes twice as much water as in other countries.

2 Critical Sites

GULI has chosen her path carefully. After her daily morning marathon, she will visit places where resources are stretched thin and highlight spots where change can have the most impact.

#EveryDropCounts

UNITED STATES

With help from Colgate, swimming legend Michael Phelps will join Guli in the U.S. The duo will help citizens find new ways to save water at home and visit schools to coach kids to **turn off the faucet** when brushing.

EUROPE

Guli will run in France, the Netherlands, and Italy. She'll visit farmers hurt by last summer's drought—olive oil, cheese, and wine businesses all suffered. The Vatican even shut off its fountains.

UZBEKISTAN

The Aral Sea is shrinking, fast. Since 1960, the salt lake has almost completely disappeared. The Central Asian rivers that feed it have been diverted—primarily to grow cotton and other crops.

MIDDLE EAST

Desalination technology is popular here, where energy is cheap. (The process, which converts sea water to fresh, is a notorious energy hog.) Guli will visit new systems in the works—including one based on the human kidney.

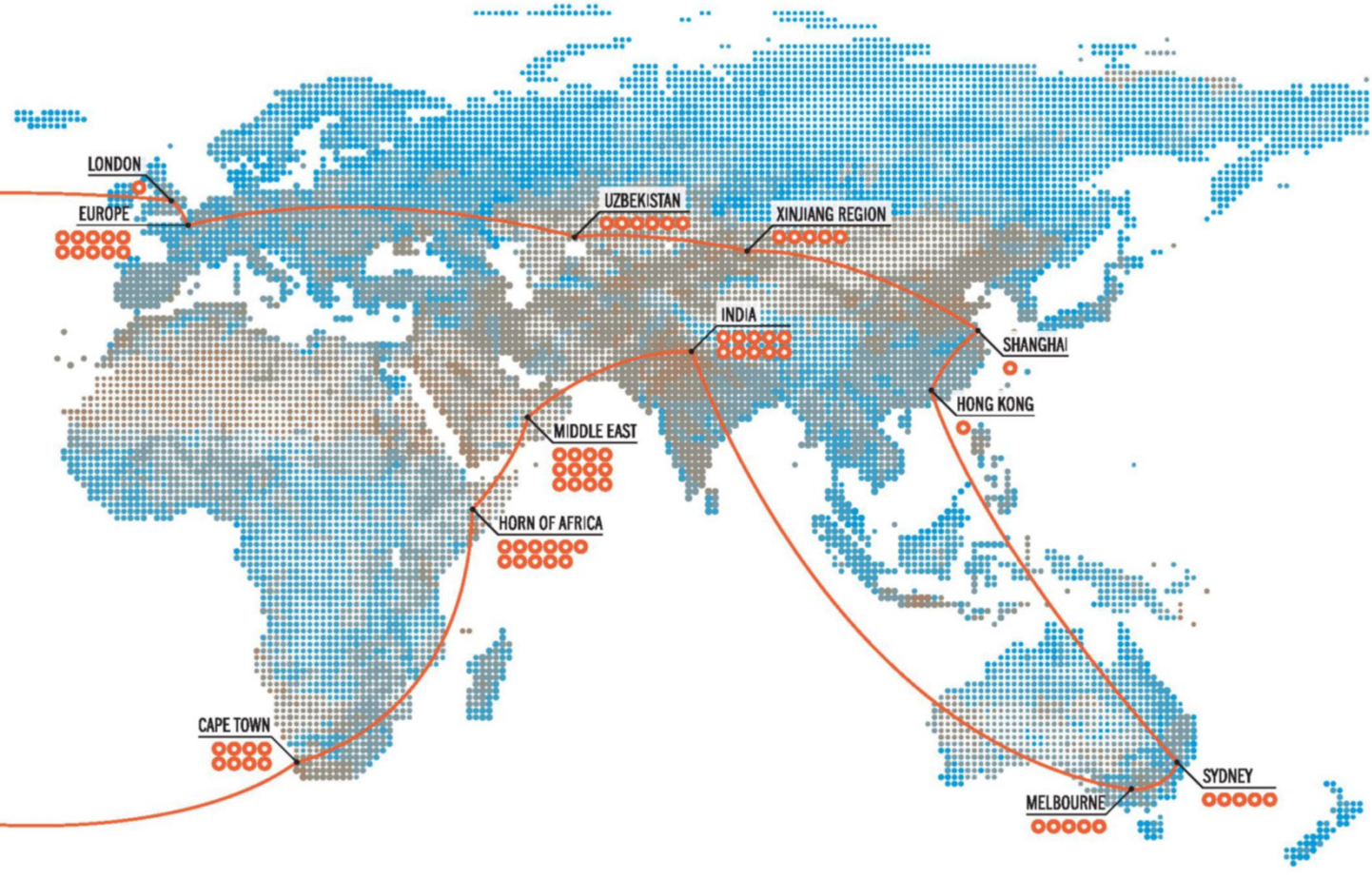
INDIA

Guli plans to meet factory owners and entrepreneurs who are turning old clothing into new fibers. Their novel recycling technology saves water by not growing new cotton—and by not dyeing it.

MAP USAGE DATA: MEKONNEN, M.M. AND HOEKSTRA, A.Y., "NATIONAL WATER FOOTPRINT ACCOUNTS: THE GREEN, BLUE AND GREY WATER FOOTPRINT OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION," 2011, VALUE OF WATER RESEARCH REPORT SERIES NO. 50, UNESCO-IHE, DELFT, THE NETHERLANDS.

*The route may change.

UN WATER
22 MARCH
WORLD WATER DAY



MAP WATER STRESS DATA: AQUEDUCT WATER RISK ATLAS, WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

CAPE TOWN
Facing its worst drought in a century and with insufficient municipal sources, the city of Cape Town is preparing to shut off its pipes. Residents will line up for an allotted seven gallons a day.

SOUTH AMERICA
In Chile, residents of Santiago are often without running water. In Bolivia, mining and other uses are causing water shortages in La Paz. And in Peru, about 3 million people lack safe drinking water.

3 Simple Steps — WITH BIG IMPACTS

WANT TO keep the water flowing? As goods move around the globe, so does the water that made them, in a sense. One fewer shirt can save 700 gallons on another continent—so local changes can have global effects.

SAVE ENERGY
Water is used to prepare coal, extract oil, and construct solar panels. Energy is the top user of water, after agriculture. So conserving electricity is a two-for-one: It also conserves water.

BUY FEWER CLOTHES
Cotton and wool are very thirsty fabrics. Making a week's worth of garments takes as much water as you'll drink in your life. Soften that impact by buying sustainable fabrics where you can.

GO MEATLESS (SOMETIMES)
A burger takes 600 gallons of water. That's 15 times more than a soy burger. The nonprofit Meatless Monday—which is exactly what it sounds like—champions weekly vegetarianism in 44 countries worldwide.

TURN OFF THE FAUCET WHILE BRUSHING YOUR TEETH
Save up to four gallons of water every time you brush. That's 3,000 gallons a year.

GET OUTSIDE
"Nature for Water" is the U.N.'s theme for World Water Day on March 22. At events worldwide, people will look to nature for solutions to water issues. Learn more at *WorldWaterDay.org*.

COLGATE IS A PROUD SPONSOR OF #RUNNINGDRY

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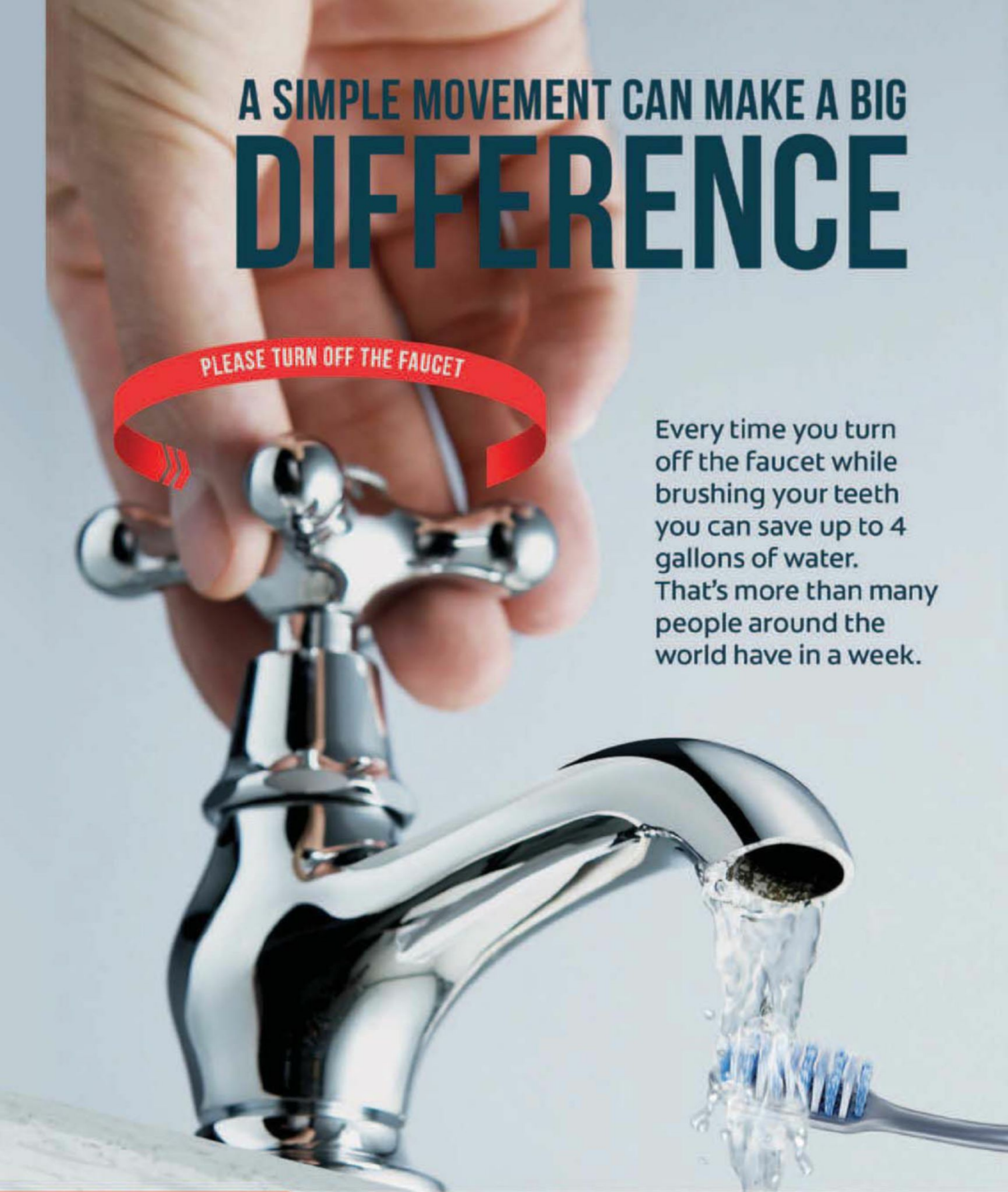

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/dump•ster fire/

Noun. An utterly calamitous or mismanaged situation or occurrence: disaster.

Merriam-Webster, as part of a batch of 850 new words and phrases added to the dictionary's website

'There are more complexities here than in brain surgery.'

BEN CARSON, U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and retired neurosurgeon, on running the agency

3,957

Number of firearms discovered in carry-on bags at TSA checkpoints in 2017, setting a new record

'Kim said denuclearizing the peninsula is teachings from the ancestors.'

CHUNG EUI-YONG, South Korean National Security Office chief, reporting on a meeting between South Korean envoys and North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un in Pyongyang

'IT IS LIKE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY THAT WE HAVE BEEN TAKEN OUT OF A DITCH. FINALLY, WE ARE SEEN AS HUMANS.'

KRISHNA KUMARI, human-rights activist, on being the first lower-caste Hindu woman elected to the Senate in predominantly Muslim Pakistan

'I'm not cooperating. Arrest me.'

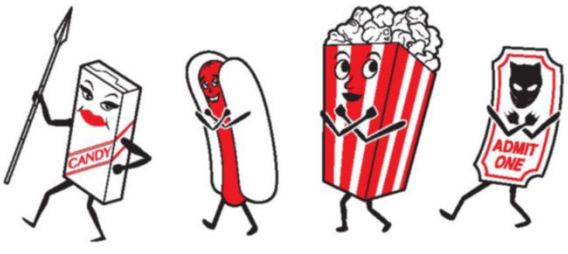
SAM NUNBERG, former adviser to President Trump's campaign, after being subpoenaed by special counsel Robert Mueller as part of the ongoing investigation into Russian intervention in the 2016 election; Nunberg later said he would probably comply

1,503,054

Number of Adélie penguins recently found to be living on the Danger Islands, near Antarctica; scientists located the previously unknown penguin colony because it produced enough waste to be seen from space

$1 billion

Amount spent at the box office by moviegoers in the U.S. and Canada last month, with 43% of that take going to *Black Panther;* this represents the first time domestic February ticket sales have hit the billion-dollar mark, according to comScore



MIKE PENCE
The U.S. VP was the butt of jokes at the Gridiron Dinner and the Oscars

10 PENCE
A new line of British coins features icons including 007

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: NEW YORK TIMES; SCIENTIFIC REPORTS

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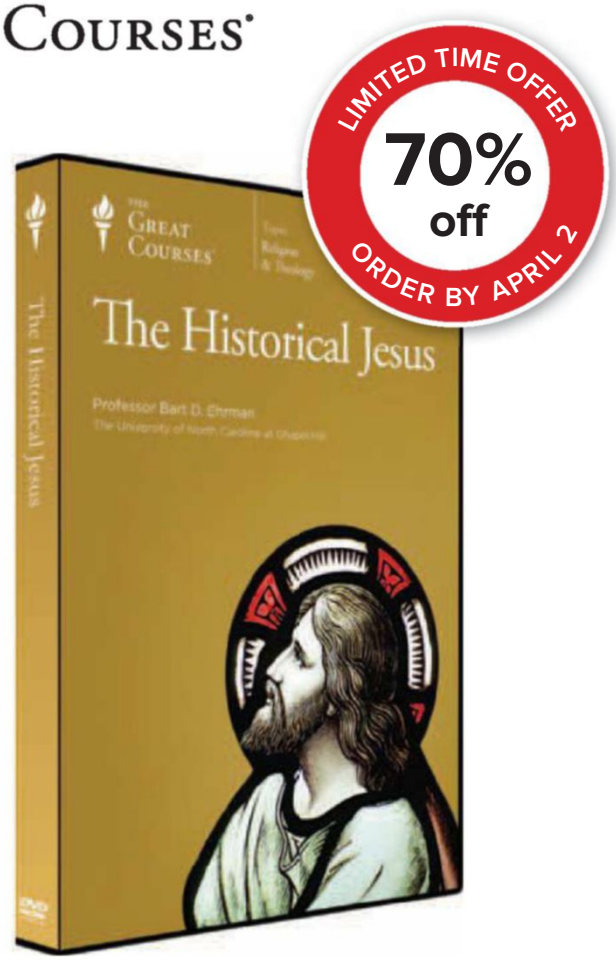

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8. Other Sources
9. Historical Criteria—Getting Back to Jesus
10. More Historical Criteria
11. The Early Life of Jesus
12. Jesus in His Context
13. Jesus and Roman Rule
14. Jesus the Apocalyptic Prophet
15. The Apocalyptic Teachings of Jesus
16. Other Teachings of Jesus in their Apocalyptic Context
17. The Deeds of Jesus in their Apocalyptic Context
18. Still Other Words and Deeds of Jesus
19. The Controversies of Jesus
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The Brief

A STEELWORKER works coil at the Insteel Industries factory in Houston on March 2

Inside Donald Trump's trade war … with himself

By Molly Ball

On Feb. 28, John Ferriola, the CEO of America's largest steel producer, Nucor, got a call from the White House. Could he be in Washington the next day? With few details to go on, Ferriola dutifully showed up at the West Wing on March 1, where he and a dozen other metals-company executives were ushered into the Cabinet Room. Soon, they were told, they would be having a private meeting with President Donald Trump.

The topic was the imposition of tariffs on imported steel and other metals, measures the industry has long sought. As Trump talked, it seemed to Ferriola that the President was leaning toward action but hadn't made up his mind. By the end of the meeting, encouraged by the executives, Trump seemed convinced. Immediately after, he told the press he planned to put surcharges of 25% on imported steel and 10% on aluminum. "People have no idea how badly our country has been treated," Trump said as the CEOs nodded along. "They've destroyed the steel industry, they've destroyed the aluminum industry." But, the President said, "we're bringing it all back."

Washington flew into a tizzy. The stock market swooned. Republicans rebuked Trump in dire terms. Soon rumors flew about the President's motivations. He was said to have acted in a fit of pique, inflamed by special counsel Robert Mueller's ongoing Russia investigation and the resignation of his communications director and confidant Hope Hicks. But the President was undeterred. Responding to the hail of criticism the following morning, he tweeted with characteristic puckishness: "Trade wars are good, and easy to win."

Trump's declaration was exactly the sort of brazen middle finger to the establishment that he promised his voters in 2016. But for all his campaign populism, the GOP establishment had, to that point, been successful in constraining Trump on trade during his first year in power. Trump's metals tariff, if he goes through with it, would represent a rare and consequential break with GOP orthodoxy.

Trade policy has also been the subject of vicious infighting within the White House. Trump's top economic adviser, free-market advocate and Goldman Sachs alum Gary Cohn, resigned on March 6 in the wake of the announcement. Yet even those closest to the issue weren't sure that Trump had made up his mind to impose the tariffs. The President seemed caught between competing impulses: his strong, long-standing convictions on trade, and his record of compliance with Republican doctrine.

Since the 1980s, Trump has complained that the U.S. was being cheated by unfair foreign competition. As a presidential candidate he hammered on the idea of "getting tough" with, in his distinctive pronunciation, "Chyyy-nah." Trump's stance on trade set him apart from other Republicans and was at the heart of his appeal in formerly blue states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, and it epitomized his opposition to "globalism," elites and experts, and his emphasis on muscular nationalism. It was also bound up with darker impulses: xenophobic distrust and nostalgia for a bygone social hierarchy.

The "forgotten man," as Trump termed his bloc of blue collar supporters, welcomed the promise to make America great again by bringing back manufacturing. And after voters in the industrial heartland helped power him to victory, Trump suggested that he would make good on his rhetoric. In his Inaugural Address, he vividly evoked a landscape of "rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation." The newly sworn-in President thundered, "We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs."

Trade was just one of the populist promises that traditional Republicans feared Trump would follow through on in office. But they soon realized the new President was disengaged from policy details, easily distracted and susceptible to flattery. In practice, many of the policy disruptions Trump had threatened—from health care and taxes to, more recently, gun control and immigration—proved to be empty threats. As a result, despite his instincts, Trump has governed mainly as a conservative. On trade, the free-marketeers in the White House, like Cohn, succeeded in diverting Trump from scrapping NAFTA and other radical measures.

Gary Cohn's departure seemed to signal that the anti-tariff faction had lost the internal battle

But if Trump's ardor for tariffs cooled, he was never persuaded to change his mind. In one Oval Office meeting, he vented to chief of staff John Kelly that he felt stymied by the globalists in his orbit, according to Axios. "I want tariffs. And I want someone to bring me some tariffs," the President insisted. By March 1, Trump seemed finally to have cast off the restraints. But the furious behind-the-scenes campaign to temper his impulses has not let up, and until the papers are drawn up and signed, he could still change his mind.

And so Washington, Wall Street and the steel industry wait to see which Trump will prevail: the gut-level protectionist or the good Republican soldier. Cohn's departure seemed to signal that the anti-tariff faction had lost the internal battle. "We've been waiting for the President and Administration to let us know what's going on," says Ferriola, the Nucor executive. "We're hopeful that the President is going to move forward with the commitment he made during the campaign." □

PREVIOUS PAGE: TODD SPOTH—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: COHN: GETTY IMAGES; EGYPT: ASMAA WAGUIH—REDUX

Genuine opposition candidates to Egyptian President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, on poster above, have either been arrested or intimidated into dropping out

THE BULLETIN

Egypt's strongman brushes aside dissent to clear way for second term

EGYPTIANS WILL VOTE IN A PRESIDENTIAL election March 26–28, but there's little doubt who will win. Current leader Abdul Fattah al-Sisi is almost guaranteed a second term, since his authorities have cracked down on political opponents, independent media and civil society ahead of the vote.

ONE-MAN RACE The incumbent's sole challenger is an obscure politician, Mousa Mostafa Mousa, who previously campaigned for al-Sisi before entering the race at the last minute. A string of other contenders withdrew earlier in the campaign, citing repression. Among them was ex–military chief of staff Sami Anan, who was detained in January after the army accused him of running for office without permission. On March 7, U.N. human-rights chief Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein condemned a "pervasive climate of intimidation" in Egypt ahead of the vote.

FOREVER LEADER This rejection of democratic norms marks the growing authoritarianism of the former general, who led a 2013 military coup to depose then President Mohamed Morsi. Al-Sisi vowed to revive the economy, which had gone into free fall after the 2011 Arab Spring uprising that ended the rule of dictator Hosni Mubarak. Despite $12 billion in IMF loans and al-Sisi's recent announcement that his administration had "completed 11,000 national projects," youth unemployment is above 30%, while spiraling inflation has made life unaffordable for many Egyptians.

STATE ABUSES Meanwhile, human-rights groups say al-Sisi has turned Egypt into a police state. Criticism of the government is effectively outlawed, and national-security agents routinely detain and torture protesters and political dissenters, according to Human Rights Watch. Al-Sisi has, however, avoided criticism from Western allies, who see him as a staunch partner against Islamic terrorism; President Trump hailed him in 2016 as a "fantastic guy." Seven years after the Arab Spring, the country is again ruled by a strongman who is set to remain in power for as long as he so desires. —TARA JOHN

TICKER

France aims to set new legal age of sexual consent

France has moved to **change its legal age of sexual consent to 15,** following two high-profile cases of men accused of having sex with 11-year-old girls. Under current legislation, sex with individuals under 15 is illegal only if the act was forced. The new law will be presented to France's Cabinet on March 21.

U.S. military: Niger mission lacked proper approval

The Defense Department's investigation into the deaths of four U.S. soldiers in Niger on Oct. 4 found that the team **didn't receive the required senior command approval for the risky mission** to capture ISIS militant Doundou Chefou.

Mystery over ex–Russian spy's hospitalization

A former Russian double agent is in intensive care in the U.K. after being exposed to an "unknown substance." Sergei Skripal, who served as a colonel in Russian military intelligence, **was found unconscious alongside his daughter** on a bench in Salisbury, England, on March 4. Russia has denied any involvement in Skripal's condition.

TICKER

Microsoft founder finds lost Second World War ship

Microsoft co-founder and billionaire philanthropist Paul Allen **discovered the wreck of the U.S.S. *Lexington,*** an aircraft carrier that was sunk 76 years ago by the Imperial Japanese Navy during WW II's Battle of the Coral Sea. Allen's personal vessel located the missing wreck about 500 miles off the eastern Australian coast.

Sri Lanka declares national state of emergency

A nationwide **state of emergency was imposed in Sri Lanka** after unrest between Sinhalese and Muslim communities led to arson and riots. The government blocked certain social-media platforms, hoping to prevent violence from spreading.

Brick surplus stacks up to trouble for Lego

A spokesperson for Lego said the **Danish toy firm had "too much" stock in its warehouses** and shops, after news broke that the company's annual sales and profits had fallen for the first time in more than a decade. Niels Christiansen, Lego's CEO, said there would be "no quick fix" and that the company's recovery could take years.

POSTCARD

America's floating city in the South China Sea pays a historic visit to Vietnam

IT'S OH SIX HUNDRED HOURS WHEN A VOICE crackles through the loudspeaker and into the cabins of the roughly 5,300 sailors, civilians and pilots who live aboard the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson,* and another day begins on what they call their "floating city." By day's end, more than 100 sorties will have been launched, flying out over the disputed waters of the South China Sea.

One of America's longest-serving *Nimitz*-class aircraft carriers, the *Vinson* dropped anchor on March 5 in waters near Da Nang, Vietnam, midway through a deployment that has already sent its formation of ships to Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines. The mission marks a strengthening of regional ties, especially with former American foe Vietnam; it's the first time a U.S. carrier has visited the country since the war ended more than 40 years ago.

"Truly, it's a huge deal," says Vice Admiral Phillip Sawyer, commander of the U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet, in Vietnam for the visit. Consul General Mary Tarnowka, based in Ho Chi Minh City, says the U.S. "could not be more optimistic about our shared future together."

China may not share the enthusiasm. Beijing considers most of the South China Sea its sovereign territory and has militarized several small islands and reefs in the waterway. The Philippines, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia and Brunei all lay claim to parts of the waters, through which nearly a third of global trade passes each year.

An international tribunal ruled in 2016 that some of China's territorial claims had "no legal basis," but there's only so much pressure Washington can apply as it seeks Beijing's help in countering the threat of a nuclear-capable North Korea. Unable to deter China's illicit expansion, the Navy is intent on proving it can still travel, communicate and rehearse for war wherever law allows.

So in late February, the *Vinson,* a 1,092-ft. nuclear-powered warship sailing with a strike group including a guided-missile cruiser, two destroyers and eight aircraft squadrons, floated peacefully past the Paracel Islands, claimed by China, Vietnam and Taiwan. "We know where international law says we can operate, and I know where international law says we can't," says Rear Admiral John Fuller, the group's commander. "And we're gonna do what international law says we can do."

Onboard the ship, sailors practiced yoga, sang karaoke and prayed in a multifaith chapel. Machinists crafted rare airplane parts, while a dentist readied to remove enlistees' wisdom teeth. Lieutenant Abigail Khushf, a 26-year-old helicopter pilot from Houston, says she takes to the air three to five times a week in her MH-60S Seahawk. She flies over the contested Spratly Islands or near the Malacca Strait, which links the Pacific and Indian oceans—wherever the flagship takes her. "It's different when you're above the islands and you get the bird's-eye view," she says. "All the pieces of the picture start coming together."

—FELIZ SOLOMON/U.S.S. *CARL VINSON*

ENVIRONMENT

Places cutting back on plastic

On Feb. 28, a Dutch supermarket opened what it called the world's first plastic-free aisle, containing about 700 items packed in recyclable materials. Here, similar initiatives around the world. —*Kate Samuelson*

WALES
Activists are attempting to rid the island of Anglesey of single-use plastic bottles, cutlery and straws to make the entire district plastic-free. Plans for an islandwide water-refill system are being discussed.

THAILAND
The Akyra Sukhumvit Bangkok hotel, set to open this spring, will feature no single-use plastic. Guests will be given refillable stainless-steel water bottles when they check in, and rooms will contain biodegradable bin bags.

U.S.
In Seattle, a citywide ban on plastic straws and utensils where food and drinks are sold will begin in July. The Strawless in Seattle campaign follows similar moves by California cities San Luis Obispo and Davis.

DIED
Canadian physicist **Richard E. Taylor,** who in 1990 shared the Nobel Prize for Physics for confirming the existence of sub-particles known as quarks, at 88.

ENDED
A **12-day standoff between the Trump Organization and the owners of the Trump Hotel** in Panama City, after the U.S. President's company gave up control of the building.

PASSED
A **bill by Florida's senate** to raise the minimum age to purchase a firearm from 18 to 21 and allow some teachers to carry guns in schools, in response to last month's school shooting in Parkland, Fla.

SIGNED
A **bill by West Virginia lawmakers** that will give a 5% pay raise to all state employees, effectively ending a nine-day teachers' strike in the state.

ANNOUNCED
China's 2018 **military budget of $175 billion,** an 8.1% increase over last year. Beijing says its defense spending is transparent, but some critics believe the figure is an underestimate.

ORDERED
Disgraced drug-company executive **Martin Shkreli, to forfeit almost $7.4 million**—including a Wu-Tang Clan album he's said to have paid millions for—by a judge who agreed that he had cheated investors.

PLASTIC: GETTY IMAGES; BANNISTER: BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

In 1954, Bannister set a record as the first man to run a mile in less than four minutes

DIED

Roger Bannister
The miracle miler

By Phil Knight

SITTING AT THE DINNER TABLE ONE NIGHT IN THE SUMMER OF 1954, my father asked me if I would like to go to Vancouver to see the British Empire Games. "It will be as close as you or I will ever get to actually seeing an Olympics," he said, "and it ends with the Miracle Mile, the race between the world's only four-minute milers." Coming just months after that record was first broken by Roger Bannister, who died on March 3 at 88, it was a gift from a busy, somewhat distant father to a dutiful, shy son.

The race did not disappoint. I was spellbound for all four laps. At the half-mile, the loudspeaker announced the time: "1:58 …" The tenths were drowned out by the roar of the crowd that grew over the next two minutes. The excitement faded, my father turned to me, in one of his teachable moments, and said, "Never in your life will you ever see two men run under four minutes in a single race." His forecast missed, but it was the best bonding time of our lives. Looking back, there was something else going on that day too. It drove home the magic a great sporting event can weave: the ability of the moment to inspire. For Bannister, the victor, lying exhausted, he had to be saying to himself, "I did it." He had done far more than he ever could have imagined.

Knight is a co-founder and chairman emeritus of sportswear company Nike Inc.

THE CEO REPORT

A firm voice for free trade steps down

By Alan Murray

GLOBAL MARKETS REACTED badly to the resignation of Trump economic adviser Gary Cohn—and with good reason. He was a critical architect of business's biggest victory under Trump—the $1.5 trillion tax reform/tax cut—and he was the strongest bulwark against a trade war, the global CEO's greatest nightmare.

In the aftermath of the resignation, Trump took to Twitter to say he "will be making a decision soon on the appointment of new Chief Economic Advisor," adding that there are "many people wanting the job." One of the first names floated was Peter Navarro, whose protectionist views were kept in check by Cohn. Even if the job goes to a more business-friendly candidate, it's hard to imagine that that adviser will have the clout Cohn did. While he and Trump disagreed on many issues, the President respected him because of his successful business career. It's unlikely that a successor will have a similar ability to keep Trump's protectionist tendencies in check.

The trade fight may move to Capitol Hill, where House Speaker Paul Ryan and others are urging Trump to take a more "surgical" approach to his proposed tariffs on steel and aluminum. But for now, "urging" is all Congress can do. The law gives the President clear authority to impose the tariffs, without the approval of Congress.

Murray is the president of Fortune

Adam Schiff

The California Democrat is on the front lines of the Trump-Russia fight

By Massimo Calabresi

FOR MOST OF HIS 17-YEAR CAREER IN CONGRESS, Adam Schiff was boring. A Harvard-trained lawyer, he was careful and precise in his remarks to the media and lurked on low-wattage committees, like Intelligence and Judiciary, that are heavy on policy, light on political power. On the sometimes raucous congressional trips abroad known as CODELs, he stayed sober and went to bed early.

But now, as a leader of one of the investigations into Russia's 2016 election operation, Schiff is suddenly exciting passion on all sides. At the annual Gridiron Club dinner in Washington on March 3, President Donald Trump lashed out at Schiff. "Adam is constantly on television pushing the idea that somehow I would undermine democracy," Trump lamented. "He was going to come tonight, and then he heard that this was not a televised event so he stayed home." Schiff's notoriety at the White House is matched by adulation elsewhere. At a recent security conference in Munich, Schiff could barely make his way through the crowded halls without an admirer grabbing his arm and thanking him for "all [he is] doing for America."

Which leaves Schiff bemused. "Before the Russia investigation," he says, snacking on sushi and bottled water in the unprepossessing carryout market in the basement of the Capitol, "people would say, 'When I see you on TV you sound very thoughtful and rational.' And I always made the same quip in reply and would say, 'Clearly there's no future for me in this business.'" Now, he says, "I'm a walking focus group."

What's changed? At the crossroads of American politics and intelligence, where Schiff is a central player, the simple answer is, Everything.

In the wake of Russia's 2016 influence operation, both the Senate and House Intelligence committees launched investigations to uncover what happened. The Senate probe has plodded along in a largely bipartisan manner, but the House committee has devolved into farce. In one dramatic episode, the Republican chairman of the committee, Devin Nunes, produced a memo alleging that anti-Trump bias at the FBI and the Department of Justice drove the probe into the Russian operation and possible collusion by the Trump campaign. Trump declassified the memo, which contained secret information, and Nunes released it over the objections of Justice and the bureau.

Schiff, the committee's top Democrat, responded with scathing attacks. Nunes, he says between bites of sushi, is "a Trump surrogate" who is using the Intelligence Committee "to protect the President." That, Schiff says, is part of a larger problem: Trump's assault on the institutions that safeguard democracy in America. "The President is undermining the independence of the Justice Department and demeaning judges who rule against the Administration," Schiff says. "It's part of a broader attack [eroding] our system of checks and balances." Nunes and Trump respond that it is Schiff who is playing politics on Russia.

It's not just political theater. In the larger sense, Schiff's transformation from quiet, behind-the-scenes intelligence wonk to front man in the fight over Russia, portends a dangerous moment—even a crisis—for intelligence oversight in America. The question of why our security services missed Russia's 2016 attack on the core exercise of our democracy has languished as the House investigation has seized up. And for the first time since the Nixon era, a spreading political scandal threatens to upend how we control and monitor the secret work of our government.

I FIRST MET SCHIFF in January 2005, when I was covering Capitol Hill, three years before Speaker Nancy Pelosi would ask him to join the Intelligence Committee. Schiff is a centrist on fiscal and national security policy and a liberal on social issues, and two of the main industries in his Southern California district are Hollywood and aerospace. The latter relies heavily on Pentagon spending for intelligence satellites, so it made sense to join a committee that, despite its aura of intrigue, is normally a low-profile assignment. The most memorable impression I took away from our conversation in the Cannon House Office Building was of someone who viewed the media with impassive forbearance.

Which suited him well for a committee founded on a promise of discretion. In the '50s and '70s, the NSA, CIA and FBI had variously eavesdropped on American dissidents, drugged unwitting innocents in mind-control experiments and directly interfered with American politics. Congressional investigators who uncovered those abuses cut a deal with the penitent agencies: the spooks would share their most treasured secrets with two newly created committees of the people's representatives if Congress promised not to use the information for political purposes. Most members thought the bargain worthy, and the House and Senate oversight committees attracted a lot of earnest, careful types.

To hear Schiff tell it, Trump and Nunes have undermined that more than 40-year balance-of-power agreement. "That compact was broken by

SCHIFF'S QUICK TAKES

Why are you suddenly in the spotlight?

The Russia investigation has [fueled] interest in what I'm doing, [as has] being attacked periodically by the President.

Is Russia messing with American politics?

On the NFL's take-a-knee issue ... we see continuing exploitation of our racial divisions. [And we see] exploitation of the gun divide.

What's your next political move?

I thought about running for the Senate [if Dianne Feinstein retired]. That was the only other office I'd given thought to. Right now I've directed my nonwork attention to [taking] back the House.

CLIFF OWEN—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

Representative Adam Schiff, top Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, during a break in hearings on Capitol Hill on Feb. 27

the publication of the [Nunes] memo," Schiff says. The result, he says, is a breakdown in trust between the Hill and the spies, and a precedent "of monkeying around with classified information for political purposes." Nunes responds that it is the founding mission of the committee to police bad behavior by the intelligence community, including what he says was the politically motivated investigation of members of the Trump campaign.

Trump, for his part, says Schiff has been playing fast and loose with the nation's secrets. At the Gridiron, Trump dubbed Schiff "Leakin' Adam" and half-joked that Schiff constantly runs out of meetings to break news on TV. History will show who is telling the truth. But in Washington—where answers to reporters' questions regularly begin, "Are we on background?"—Schiff is, in my experience, memorable for insisting on speaking on the record. "It makes life easier," he says.

It's unclear where all the political drama and its attendant fame will lead for a politician once unaccustomed to the spotlight. In a minivan on the way to a dinner honoring John McCain at the Munich conference, a GOP Senator ribbed Schiff about his appearances on TV and asked if he was running for President. Hardly missing a beat, Schiff said, "You must be mistaking me for a Senator."

In the House, Schiff may get a chance to put his money where his mouth is on the Russia probe. If the Democrats take control next fall and Pelosi becomes Speaker again, she could name Schiff chairman of the Intelligence Committee, with the power to call witnesses and subpoena documents from inside government and out. Schiff is finding that his newfound fame will improve his chances of getting the top spot. His own California seat is considered safely Democratic, but others in his party need help. Toward the end of our conversation, he looks at his watch and says, "Oh, I have a call," and wanders off to speak with a needy candidate.

With elections every two years, the House has always been the more partisan chamber. But whatever the result in November, the challenge for Schiff, the committee and America will be getting politics back out of the room where patriotism is supposed to provide common ground. □

LightBox

Storm surge

A view from a single-engine plane, at a height of approximately 1,800 ft., shows flooding at Peggotty Beach in Scituate, Mass., on March 4, in the wake of a massive nor'easter that battered the Atlantic Coast. Strengthened by a phenomenon known as "bombogenesis"—which involves a rapid drop in atmospheric pressure—the storm caused coastal flooding, grounded flights for thousands of travelers and led to the deaths of at least nine people.

Photograph by Karl Swenson

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The View

The West's role in fixing the Rohingya crisis

By Bill Richardson

There is something rotten in Myanmar. About 700,000 Rohingya, a Muslim minority, have fled the nation's coastal state of Rakhine to Bangladesh, in order to escape the military. At least 6,700 Rohingya were killed in one month alone,

'WE DON'T WANT GUNS TO BE ROMANTICIZED.' —PAGE 25

'IT WAS A SAD NARRATIVE THAT WAS GIVEN TO ME, AND IT CAME FROM A SOCIETY THAT DIDN'T KNOW BETTER.' —PAGE 26

'CURE ISN'T A WORD NORMALLY USED IN THE CONTEXT OF AIDS.' —PAGE 28

estimates Doctors Without Borders. U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson has called it an ethnic cleansing; others suspect even worse.

While Myanmar's de facto leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, does not have control of the military, she has failed to show moral leadership and a willingness to listen to frank advice. What, then, can the West do? The space to help Myanmar correct course is narrow and shrinking, although a few imperfect options exist.

The international community will need to strike a balance between punishing Myanmar—however symbolically—and convincing the nation of its genuine desire to help. At a minimum, Western governments should impose targeted sanctions against military officials for human-rights abuses. (Broad-based economic sanctions are blunt tools that should be used only as a last resort.) Meanwhile, donor governments and humanitarian agencies should withhold both political and financial support to the hastily planned repatriation process for refugees in Bangladesh—unless Myanmar can ensure that returns are safe, voluntary, dignified and sustainable. Less scrupulous donors may undercut such an approach, but that is insufficient justification for propping up the structures that fostered the current crisis.

Pulling out completely, however, would be counterproductive. Myanmar would retrench further and toward neighbors like China, which are keen for influence but whose approaches in Rakhine could spark further violence. Efforts to document what has occurred may provide opportunities to hold perpetrators accountable or help facilitate future reconciliation, and the West should encourage a joint investigation with Myanmar into human-rights abuses and the mass graves discovered in Rakhine. All the while, the international community must seek to better understand the grievances of both the Rohingya and Buddhist Rakhine populations, in part by providing support to local groups that are working to build resilience and improve socioeconomic well-being.

There is more scope for international influence and support on the Bangladeshi side of the border. The West should continue to praise Bangladesh's magnanimity in hosting hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees, although it should not take that for granted. Tensions between refugees and their hosts are on the rise as prices in local markets and competition for unskilled work have increased. Bangladesh and partner governments must move from crisis response to a long-term strategy that recognizes that few Rohingya will soon voluntarily return to Myanmar.

The remains of burnt villages in Myanmar's Rakhine state, on Oct. 10; hundreds have been razed since the conflict began

Some refugees—like those with no desire to return to Myanmar in the medium term—should be allowed to relocate to other parts of Bangladesh. Camps in the border areas should also be formalized for those refugees who have some hope of returning to Myanmar. Because of domestic political imperatives, Bangladesh will resist accepting a large and sustained Rohingya presence, so it must receive the resources needed to cope. The international community must also convince Bangladesh that the best means of dampening the allure of radicalization among refugees is through social integration—providing work permits and respecting fundamental rights. And states in the West or those that already shelter large Rohingya populations should welcome refugees to their own countries. Despite nativism taking hold in the U.S. and Europe, moral outrage over the plight of the Rohingya should be backed by more than financial support alone.

The situation could easily get worse. The Rohingya who remain in Rakhine could become refugees. Conflict in the Kachin and Shan states is escalating, and further tensions in Rakhine could spark new fighting. And Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh could fall prey to radicalization, deepening a cycle of violence that spreads well beyond the border. In the absence of far greater action by Myanmar, the international community must demonstrate the political will and moral authority needed to avert an even greater crisis.

Richardson is a former U.S. Congressman, governor, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and Secretary of Energy

READING LIST

A selection of stories now published on **time.com/ideas**

Why black children would be the victims of armed teachers

While most mass school shootings have been perpetrated by white people, studies have found that **teachers disproportionately discipline students of color;** NAACP Legal Defense Fund president Sherrilyn Ifill argues that the trend would in all likelihood extend to using firearms in the classroom.

What would happen if women could say only 100 words a day?

In an **exclusive excerpt from Christina Dalcher's forthcoming debut novel, *Vox,*** a woman endures a ban, telling herself, "Think about what you need to do to stay free."

The case for practicing your sense of smell

Ever read your milk's label instead of sniffing it to see if it has expired? Or guess a banana's taste by its color and not odor? If so, you're prioritizing sight over smell—in odd yet common ways. But psycholinguistics researcher Asifa Majid writes that **you can train your olfactory abilities** to regain skills most of us have lost in our "deodorized" modern life.

The success of Italy's populists sets off alarm bells for Europe

By Ian Bremmer

IT'S HARD TO BE surprised when Italians vote for change. After all, this is a country that has had more than 60 governments in just over 70 years. But the results of the general election on March 4 were striking nonetheless. The right-wing and anti-establishment parties angry about immigration carried the day, and now President Sergio Mattarella must decide who will have first shot at leading the ugly process of trying to form a new government. In the meantime, the message for Europe is loud and clear: Populism isn't dead. It isn't even wounded.

AFTER THE Trump and Brexit votes in 2016, the perception was that Europe had taken a step back from its lurch toward the populist right. In 2017, notorious xenophobe Geert Wilders came up short in the Netherlands. Emmanuel Macron, a pro-European centrist, carried the day in France. Angela Merkel won a fourth term as Germany's Chancellor.

Look closer. In Europe today, Europeanists heave a sigh of relief when politicians like Wilders only come in second. In France, the traditional parties of center-right and center-left finished third and fifth in the first round of voting. In Germany, the vote share of the center-right and center-left parties that will form the next "grand coalition" fell from 67% in 2013 to just 53% last October. Merkel still leads, but Alternative for Germany, the first far-right party to win seats in the Bundestag since Adolf Hitler, is the primary opposition party.

In Italy too, the familiar faces of the center-right and center-left, in this case former Prime Ministers Silvio Berlusconi and Matteo Renzi, were pushed aside. Instead, the Five Star Movement, an anti-establishment party helmed by an angry comedian and secessionist party the League, with partners and supporters that have embraced fascist symbolism, led the way.

The message for Europe is loud and clear: Populism isn't dead. It isn't even wounded

JUST HOW DAMAGING will this be to the idea of a united Europe? Italy's next government, no matter who leads it, will not push for an exit from the E.U. or even from the single currency. Nor will it deport all those migrants, given the cost and logistics involved. But it might well launch a spending spree that will enrage the E.U.'s leadership. Both Five Star and the League openly flaunted their disdain for E.U. fiscal rules on the campaign trail, and any government comprising either will be pressured to deliver on their campaign spending promises. Doing so will hit Italy's past deficit reduction efforts, and maybe even reverse them entirely. Italy struggles to comply with E.U.-mandated debt and structural adjustment targets as it is. A more confrontational Italy will also spook capital markets at a precarious time for the Italian economy, the euro zone's third largest.

It will also undermine the bid for European reform led by Macron and Merkel. The French President wants to establish common E.U.-wide policies on defense, taxes and asylum rules for migrants. He has also called for a euro-zone parliament, euro-zone ministers, a euro-zone budget, better coordination on tax policy and a common approach to border controls.

But Italy's government is likely to prove friendlier to the governments in Poland and Hungary, which are now openly defying E.U. rules. At a moment when negotiations over Britain's exit are beginning to gather steam, as separatist pressures continue in Spain, as Eastern European governments challenge Brussels and as outsiders like Russia and Turkey test European unity, Italy's latest political convulsion is not a hopeful sign. □

QUICK TALK

Bumble CEO Whitney Wolfe Herd

Why will the dating app ban most photos of guns? We were founded with safety at the helm of everything we do. Bumble is a mechanism to connect. People are putting themselves out there, they're showcasing themselves. We don't want guns to be part of that conversation. We don't want guns to be romanticized.

You said this wasn't a politically driven decision. Is that really true? Seventeen lives were taken [in Parkland, Fla.]. I don't care if you are a Democrat or a Republican. Those were human lives that were lost on a random Wednesday when they were in what is supposed to be the safest place for our children: school. They were learning; they were working toward their future. That, for me, is bigger than politics. That, for me, is human ethics.

Are you concerned about contributing more divisiveness? There will be some divide. But the way we mitigate that is by being honest. We don't hate you. We don't want to block you if you like guns. We just don't want to showcase guns here. —*Samantha Cooney*

MYANMAR: MARION THIBAUT—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; WOLFE HERD: CINDY ORD—GIRLBOSS MEDIA/GETTY IMAGES

How to 'cook like a woman' in a man's world

By Dominique Crenn

In 2012 Dominique Crenn became the first woman in the U.S. to receive two Michelin stars, blazing a new trail for women in the male-dominated restaurant world. In addition to her award-winning flagship restaurant Atelier Crenn, the San Francisco–based chef also operates a second restaurant, Petit Crenn, and plans to open a third, Bar Crenn, in March. She is part of Firsts, an ongoing series about women who have shattered glass ceilings in their fields.

BOTH OF MY PARENTS CAME FROM FARMING FAMILIES in Brittany, France. I spent a lot of time on the farm during the holidays and was fascinated by the connection with the soil and earth. My dad's best friend was a food writer and critic, so I was very lucky to eat in beautiful Michelin-starred restaurants growing up. Food is a huge part of French culture, so my mom and grandmother were both great cooks. My mother used to take me to the farmers' market every week. When we were cooking together, it was not about learning a recipe—it was about the story behind the recipe. She spent hours and hours in the kitchen, and I loved being there with her. But no one in my family did it professionally.

As a young girl, being a chef did not cross my mind—I wanted to conquer the world. I wanted to play with my brother and the boys. I wanted to be a famous photographer. Photography is all about catching a moment in time, telling stories and capturing emotion. What I'm doing now is basically the same thing except I'm painting on the plate.

Early in my career, I was told I shouldn't try to work in a kitchen, that I should consider serving or managing instead. It was a sad narrative that was given to me, and it came from a society that didn't know better. Women always cook in the kitchen, but to think a woman could be a chef was like, "No, there is no way. It's too long. It's too hard." You have to really look at yourself and say, "You know what? I'm going to do it on my own, and I'm not going to let anyone tell me yes or no."

I NEVER DOUBTED MYSELF when I opened my first restaurant. You've got to give 100% of yourself until you know you've done it. But it was still a struggle. I opened Atelier Crenn in 2011, coming out of a time of crisis. Nobody wanted to invest—and people told me they didn't trust that as a woman I could carry it off. But I had a vision and I had to try, and I made it my mission to stay positive. Seven years later, I'm still here—and I'm expanding.

I don't know why it took them so long to give a female chef two Michelin stars in the U.S., but awards are just awards, and it's what you do with that recognition that defines who you are. Every day you've got to go back to work and make sure the restaurant is busy. Being the first just makes you realize they have a long way to go. There are many amazing chefs in this country who are women, and I don't know why they're not getting recognized.

The industry needs to change. A critic was once quoted saying that I'm successful because I'm attractive and charismatic and cook like a man, whatever that means. I was shocked by the words and shocked that they were published. The culture is toxic.

We have to work very hard to undo the things we've done so badly. I look at children as the light at the end of the tunnel. We have a responsibility to carve the way for them to live in a better world. My daughters love to cook, but more than that I hope I provide them an example of how to be a badass—and how to be kind, to be respectful, to ask questions and be curious, to understand that there are others in this world, to be a good listener and to be a good leader. □

MOLLY MATALON FOR TIME

'We have to work very hard to undo the things we've done so badly.'

DOMINIQUE CRENN, the first woman to receive two Michelin stars in the U.S.

WATCH

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There is no cure for HIV—but scientists may be getting closer

By Alice Park

CURE ISN'T A WORD NORMALLY USED IN THE CONTEXT OF AIDS. For most of the 35 years since HIV, the virus responsible for the disease, was first identified, doctors have viewed the notion of a cure as more fantasy than fact.

That's because HIV is a virus unlike any other. It disables the very immune cells that are supposed to destroy it and also sequesters itself in the body's cells, staging the ultimate deadly ambush whenever the immune defense's guard comes down, months or sometimes even years later.

Yet for the first time in the HIV epidemic that currently affects nearly 37 million people worldwide, some experts are starting to aim for a cure—cautiously—as they fashion the next generation of HIV treatments. Scientists now understand how HIV burrows itself inside cells and remains cloaked from the immune system's watchful gaze—and they have some ideas about how to expose and annihilate it. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) is funding HIV cure efforts based on this new knowledge, and advocacy groups like amfAR are also pouring resources into not just treating HIV, but also finding ways to eradicate it completely.

"Absolutely HIV can be cured," says Rowena Johnston, vice president and director of research for amfAR. "The bazillion-dollar question is how."

Doctors today have no trouble keeping HIV under control in people who are infected, thanks to antiretroviral (ARV) drugs, which stop the virus from replicating once it finds its way inside healthy cells. If it is not making more copies of itself, HIV cannot spread to infect new cells. That translates into healthier, longer lives for people who are HIV-positive.

Yet as powerful as the current drug treatments are, they need to be taken daily to keep the virus suppressed, and they can't actually rid the body of infected cells. For self-preservation, some HIV does not actively pump out more copies of itself, but instead lies dormant inside certain immune cells. "The drugs are remarkably good at stopping the virus from replicating," says Dr. Robert Siliciano, professor of medicine at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, who first identified these sleeping virus reservoirs. "The problem is that there is also a form of HIV that is not replicating and is latent, that is not affected by the drugs and not seen by the immune system." These are the viruses that come roaring back when people stop taking their medications, or take them erratically.

But in the latest report presented this month at the Conference on Retroviruses and Opportunistic Infections in Boston, researchers revealed the strongest evidence yet that these latent viruses can be activated and eliminated, at least in animals. In a study involving a form of HIV that infects monkeys, Dr. Dan Barouch and his colleagues at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center and Harvard Medical School showed that a drug that stimulates the immune system and activates the dormant HIV, combined with a powerful antibody that can neutralize the HIV-infected cells, prevented HIV from surging back in five of 11 animals, six months after they stopped taking ARVs. In the monkeys whose HIV did return, the virus levels were 100 times lower than they were in animals that were not treated at all.

'Absolutely HIV can be cured. The bazillion-dollar question is how'

ROWENA JOHNSTON, VP and director of research for amfAR

"I think our data raises the possibility that an intervention achieving a functional cure is possible," says Barouch. "It shows a level of potential efficacy, at least in animals, that to the best of my knowledge hasn't been seen before."

The fact that nearly half of the animals did not show the typical spike in HIV that normally comes within two weeks of stopping anti-HIV drugs suggests that Barouch's so-called "shock and kill" approach may be effectively targeting that elusive reservoir of dormant virus.

ILLUSTRATION BY TODD DETWILER FOR TIME; BIKE: SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY RF/GETTY IMAGES

It's a promising step toward the next frontier in HIV treatment: ridding people of the virus and, potentially, their lifelong dependence on ARV drugs.

The method hasn't yet been tested in humans, and a cure is likely still years in the making. But there is hope. In the epidemic's history, one person is believed to have been cured of HIV. Timothy Ray Brown, an American who is now 52, was studying in Berlin in 1995 when he tested positive for HIV. He kept his virus under control with a combination of ARVs for about 10 years, until he was hit with another devastating diagnosis: leukemia, which his doctors believed was not related to his HIV. To treat the cancer, Brown took chemotherapy and had two bone marrow transplants to replace the malignant cells in his blood and immune system. His doctor, who was aware of Brown's HIV status, had the foresight to find a special donor for Brown who carried a mutation that would make it impossible for HIV to infect his newly transplanted cells.

Brown stopped taking ARVs when he received the bone marrow transplants, and more than a decade later, no test has found any active HIV in Brown.

He remains the only HIV-positive person with undetectable levels of virus without using ARV medications. Other people have since seemed to mimic his case, but HIV eventually came back in each one.

Brown's case suggests that curing HIV is possible—but it may require cleaning out practically every scrap of HIV that may be hiding in the body, says Dr. Steven Deeks, professor of medicine at the University of California, San Francisco. "You probably need to get as close to zero viruses as you possibly can," he says. "The last man standing can always pop up and get you in the end." Even if you can't ferret out and eradicate every last remnant of HIV in every patient, researchers now believe that you could rebuild a person's immune system so it can successfully eliminate whatever virus remains.

Cancer experts are already using these types of strategies in their fight against tumors, by programming the immune system to attack malignant cells. "I am optimistic, because the parallels in what we are doing in HIV and what others are doing in cancer are so great, that we will be able to leverage what they figure out and apply it to a cure for HIV," says Deeks.

Deeks is part of an NIH-funded collaboration of HIV experts who are investigating not just the shock-and-kill approach but also another way to neutralize the virus: by permanently locking down HIV inside the cells where it lies dormant so it can never be reactivated again. Researchers are also studying ways to genetically splice out HIV from infected cells. And amfAR is supporting a study that so far involves 30 people with HIV who, like Brown, also developed leukemia and required bone-marrow transplants, to see if that strategy could be a reasonable option for curing the infection for some people.

No one in the field expects HIV to be vanquished in the next year or so. But they are more confident than ever that some type of cure will be part of HIV treatment in the future. □

you asked

Should I exercise when I'm sick?

If you want to protect yourself from colds and flu, regular exercise may be the ultimate immunity booster. Studies have shown that moderate aerobic exercise—30 to 45 minutes per day of activities like walking, biking or running—can more than halve your risk for respiratory infections, partly by increasing circulation of immune cells.

But when you feel sick, the story changes. "Exercise is great for prevention, but it can be lousy for therapy," says David Nieman, director of the Human Performance Lab at Appalachian State University. Research shows that moderate exercise has no effect on the duration or severity of the common cold, in which symptoms occur from the neck up. If you have the flu or another fever-causing infection, exercise can slow recovery. Your immune system is working overtime to fight off the infection, and exercise, a form of physical stress, makes that task harder. Once your fever has subsided, wait a week before easing back in, says Nieman. By the end of the second week post-fever, if you're feeling good, you can return to your usual training.

—Markham Heid

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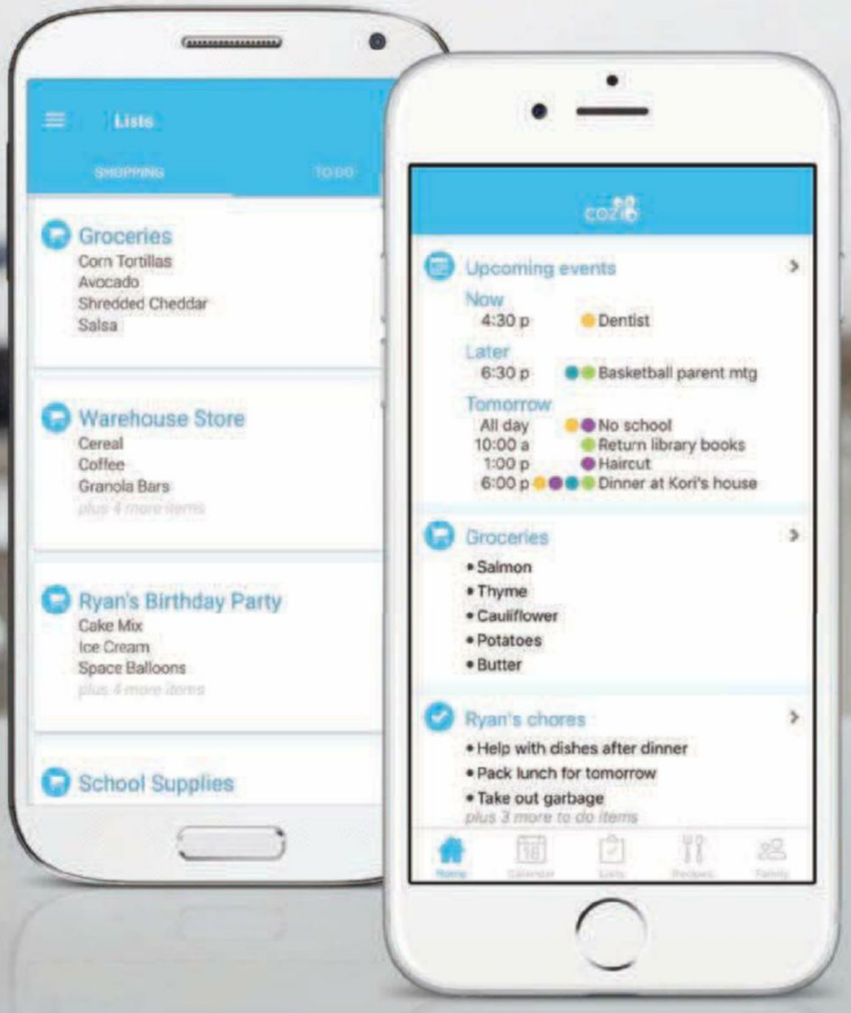

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Bye Dad, I Love You

AMERICA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY IS SPLITTING FAMILIES AND SPREADING FEAR

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELE ASSELIN FOR TIME

JUST BEFORE 7:30 ONE FRIDAY MORNING LAST March, Alejandro said goodbye to his wife Maria and his two small daughters and headed off to work. He didn't make it far. Four blocks from his home near Bakersfield, Calif., two unmarked vehicles, a white Honda and a green Mazda pickup truck, pulled up behind him at a stop sign. Plain-clothes Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents spilled out. They wore vests emblazoned with the word POLICE.

Alejandro dialed Maria from his cell phone and told her what was happening. Her heart dropped. She said later that she knew it wouldn't matter that Alejandro had no criminal record, not even a speeding ticket. Or that he'd driven these same roads every day for the past decade, picking grapes, pistachios and oranges in California's Central Valley. Since 2006, when Alejandro overstayed his visa, he had been considered a "fugitive alien," in ICE parlance, and therefore subject to immediate deportation to Mexico. Now he was arrested on the spot.

A few days later, he was given an ankle

Estefania was just 7 months old when her father was deported last spring

bracelet and allowed to return home to say goodbye. He was gone by the end of spring—before his eldest, Isabella, began talking, before Estefania took her first steps, before Maria gave birth this winter to their third baby girl.

The family's experience—including the fear of being targeted if their names were not changed in this story—has become increasingly common during the Trump Administration. While President Obama told ICE to focus on violent offenders and recent border crossers, among others, President Trump has cast a much wider net. In early 2017, his Administration issued a series of edicts to ICE agents, prosecutors and immigration judges: any and all of the estimated 11 million people in the country illegally are now a priority for deportation. "There's no population that's off the table," Thomas Homan, the acting director of ICE, told reporters in December. "If you're in the country illegally, we're looking for you."

The new approach has led to a surge of new arrests. Between 2016 and 2017, apprehensions of undocumented immigrants jumped by a third. That increase was driven primarily by arrests of people like Alejandro with no prior criminal record. In 2017, President Trump deported more than double the number of noncriminals than Obama had the previous year. The detainees prioritized by Trump's approach included community leaders, doting parents and children: a 10-year-old girl with cerebral palsy in San Antonio; a grandmother described as the "backbone" of a Navy veteran's family; a father of two in Detroit who had lived in the U.S. since he was 10 years old.

A major consequence of this new policy has been an explosion of fear among immigrant communities, which are reacting not so much to the spiking number of arrests but to the apparent randomness of the roundups. "When everyone's a target, no one is safe," says Luis Zayas, dean of the Steve Hicks School of Social Work at the University of Texas at Austin. He cites instances of ICE agents arresting people who had just filed paperwork for a green card, left church or dropped off their kids at school. "The arrests feel arbitrary, and that's different," he says. "The fear is worse now than I've ever seen it."

ARRESTS AND DEPORTATIONS

Trump is deporting fewer undocumented immigrants than Obama, but arrests are way up—driven primarily by arrests of people with no criminal record

SOURCE: U.S. IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT

Which may be the point. "Quite frankly, illegal immigrants are supposed to be afraid of detection," says Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, a group that presses for significant immigration controls. "They're illegal, they're breaking the law, why shouldn't they live in the shadows?" Immigration hard-liners say the policy is working. In 2017, the number of people caught sneaking over the U.S.-Mexico border had fallen to its lowest level in 46 years, according to a Department of Homeland Security (DHS) report. "That's not a coincidence," Homan said.

But the new policy doesn't affect only those who are in the country illegally. It upends a broad swath of American society, including the communities and families of undocumented people, many of whom are U.S. citizens. More than 4 million American kids under the age of 18 have at least one undocumented parent, and nearly 6 million live in so-called mixed-status households, sharing bedrooms with family members, like brothers and sisters, who are now targets for arrest. Every year, tens of thousands of American kids see at least one parent deported, according to the Urban Institute. It's an experience that, studies show, pushes families into poverty and leads to higher rates of PTSD and struggles at school.

For Maria and her daughters, the fear has only begun. Like Alejandro, Maria is undocumented; all three of their daughters are U.S. citizens. Which means every day contains the prospect of the children becoming separated from their mother as well. "It's a cruel way to live," says Maria, wiping away tears with the heel of her hand. "You're always asking, What's the worst that could happen now?"

IN MARIA and Alejandro's neighborhood, news of his arrest went viral. His Facebook feed, already a portrait of a community's anxiety, began to accrue up-to-the-minute reports on ICE sightings in town and rumors of planned immigration raids at warehouses nearby. *Don't go to the Walmart, an ICE truck was seen parked nearby. Plainclothes agents are watching the park.* In a phone interview from Mexico, Alejandro told me that many of his old friends now avoid leaving the house, limiting necessary errands to blitzes after dark, when agents are thought to be less active. Sitting in a folding chair on the patio outside her home, Maria describes a similar drumbeat of distress. She doesn't use the word *miedo,* fear, but a more visceral term: *pavor.* Dread.

The disquiet seeps into daily life. In Orange County, California, for example, dozens of undocumented adults have chosen to un-enroll their U.S.-citizen children in benefit programs like SNAP and school lunches, because they fear having their names in a government database, says Teresa Smith, executive director of the local Catholic Charities. "These are families that very much need that food," she says. "This isn't a decision made lightly."

After her husband was deported, Maria, an undocumented farmworker, was left to raise their three daughters on her own

Immigrant advocates' offices, meanwhile, are swamped. At a recent "Know Your Rights" session for undocumented immigrants at the United Farm Workers Foundation in Bakersfield, the line to enter snaked around the corner and down the block. At the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), the waiting room is papered with posters, pamphlets and worksheets with advice on what undocumented people should do if they're pulled over, their workplace is raided or ICE agents show up at their home. One handout advises undocumented parents of minors to follow a numbered checklist to be ready in the event that they are picked up. Tip No. 3: "Prepare a letter giving legal power to someone trusted, to care for your children in case you're arrested."

Jorge-Mario Cabrera, the communications director at CHIRLA, says much of that advice is easier to offer than follow. Many parents don't have a trusted friend or relative capable of taking on their children in case they're deported, he explains. In South Florida, Nora Sandigo, an immigrant advocate, has assumed power of attorney for roughly 1,250 children of undocumented parents in case the adults are sent away. Thomas McCoy, an assistant superintendent in the Oxnard (Calif.) Union High School District, which serves a large immigrant population, says administrators have asked parents to file guardianship instructions with school administrators. "They need to know where to send a kid home," he explains.

In the grimmest cases, kids whose parents are arrested or deported are orphaned. According to a 2015 Urban Institute report, an estimated 5,000 children in child-welfare custody had a detained or deported parent.

Some advocates advise parents to leave information not just about their children's guardians, allergies and medications, but also about their personal details. What's your toddler's favorite stuffed animal? What lullaby helps your baby sleep? "If your mom was just deported, having a caregiver know where to find your special blanket isn't going to fix it, but it helps," explains Fatima Hernandez, programs director at the United Farm Workers Foundation, a nonprofit serving agricultural workers. Others advocates offer tips on talking to older children about what to do if they come home from school and find the house dark.

Those in favor of hard-line immigration enforcement sometimes roll their eyes at media reports of families broken up by deportation. "The parents can just take the kids back with them," Krikorian says. "No families have to get broken up." But when pressed on specific cases, he sighs. "Look, when it does happen, it's not a great situation. I'm not delighted to see it," he says. "But it's not our problem. These immigrants are adults; they have to be responsible for their actions. Kids sometimes suffer from the bad decisions their parents make. If Mom and Dad stop paying their mortgage and get evicted, the kids don't get to stay in the house."

The undocumented parents I talked to in California were more conflicted. Sara, who asked that TIME not use her last name because she is worried about being targeted, came to the U.S. from Honduras in 2001. She has a 13-year-old son with a mild learning disability. He is small and fragile-looking, with glasses and birdlike hands. Sara can't imagine taking him back to Honduras, a country he has never even visited, and especially to her hometown, San Pedro Sula, which has one of the world's highest murder rates. Even if she felt she could keep him safe

there, she says, she doesn't know if his U.S. citizenship would prevent him from accessing health care or other benefits once they arrived.

I asked Sara about Tip No. 3 on the CHIRLA checklist—if she is arrested, who would she list as her son's guardian? She considers the question for a long time, pressing her palms together as if in prayer. I tell her I've heard of other families that have left young children in the care of older ones. In Bakersfield, an 18-year-old woman is now the sole guardian for her 9-year-old brother. In Queens, New York, two college-age siblings are now the sole caregivers for their 15-year-old sister, who has a severe form of autism. "I don't know," Sara says finally. "What would you do?"

Luis Urrieta, 16, and his mother Rosa don't have a plan either. Rosa, who is undocumented and works as a pastry chef, came to the U.S. from Mexico nearly two decades ago. Luis, who is a U.S. citizen, has awoken in the night with a pounding heart after nightmares about Rosa being taken away. Wearing red mesh basketball shorts and a striped shirt, he struggles to describe the anxiety and instead lists all the reasons he needs his mother to stay around: she cooks dinner for him and encourages him and pays the bills. "She is my whole life," he says quietly. But then he raises his voice, as if to dispel the fear. They'll be safe, he says, because they live in San Francisco, a so-called sanctuary city where local law enforcement doesn't partner with ICE. In the days and weeks after our conversation, ICE arrested roughly 400 people across Northern California and in Los Angeles in a series of raids that included sanctuary cities. On March 6, the federal government sued California over its sanctuary-city laws.

A number of recent research papers have reported that the prospect of losing one's parent can inflict psychological damage on a child. "These kids are under constant, extreme levels of psychological stress that other children don't have to endure," says Zayas, whose academic research on the American-born children of undocumented immigrants is included in his book *Forgotten Citizens*. "It affects the child's educational performance, their developmental trajectories, how they achieve things. It affects the entire neurobiology of a child."

A 2015 Urban Institute study found that many children of detained or deported parents became depressed, showed signs of deteriorating health and performed poorly in school. And a January 2017 study by University of Michigan researchers found that such distress can manifest physiologically in unborn children. Latino babies born in the 37 weeks after a 2008 federal immigration raid in Postville, Iowa, were 24% more likely to have low birth weights than those born a year earlier. One common characteristic shared by children of undocumented parents, Zayas says, is "hypervigilance." Without looking at a clock, an 8-year-old girl will know exactly how long it takes her mother to go on a groceries run. "If she's two minutes late, there's extreme anxiety," he says. Even very young kids, he adds, are keenly aware of how quickly their parents could vanish.

Even very young kids are keenly aware of how quickly their parents could vanish

THE ARCHITECTURE of all this fear is not incidental. It's the result of policy. The agents who pulled over Alejandro were acting within the bounds of U.S. law. So the question surrounding his arrest is not whether it was legitimate; it's whether it was a good use of resources. Why choose him, a family man with no criminal record, over any of the 11 million other undocumented people in America?

Even operating full tilt, ICE has nowhere near the manpower or money to enforce U.S. immigration laws against everyone in the country illegally. Experts estimate that the agency has the capacity every year to deport roughly 4% of all undocumented immigrants. So the real challenge is to establish clear priorities about who should be at the top of the list. In theory, all DHS employees, from ICE officers on the street to prosecutors in immigration court, have the power—known as "prosecutorial discretion"—to determine when and whether to enforce immigration laws. But in reality, those decisions are shaped from the top. Presidents determine what immigration policy will look like.

Both the Obama and George W. Bush Administrations assumed this responsibility. They directed DHS employees to use their prosecutorial discretion to prioritize the deportation of certain criminal groups. They also outlined clear factors like old age, U.S. military service or a lack of criminal record that might mitigate enforcement.

The Trump Administration has not issued similar prerogatives. In January 2017, Trump signed an Executive Order calling for the enforcement of immigration laws against "all removable aliens," and in February 2017, DHS rescinded all previous Administrations' priorities and restrictions. Then DHS Secretary John Kelly replaced them with new guidance so broad that employees were effectively instructed to "prioritize" the deportation of all undocumented immigrants. The only listed exception were those who qualified for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, a now uncertain program shielding those who were brought to the U.S. as children.

"Prosecutorial discretion shall not be exercised in a manner that exempts or excludes a specified class or category of aliens from enforcement of the immigration laws," wrote Kelly in a memo to staff. The Administration also eliminated Obama-era moratoriums on certain types of enforcement, including what's known as "collateral arrests," which is when ICE agents detain not only an intended target, but also anyone else "deportable" nearby.

Immigration hard-liners, like Attorney General Jeff Sessions, have cheered the change. The new policy, they say, restores the enforcement of U.S. immigration law "as written." But critics argue that this doesn't track. Congress has not given DHS more money or enforcement officers, so there can't simply be more enforcement. The difference is *who* is being enforced against. Despite the President's frequent talk of "rapists and murderers," the most

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHELE ASSELIN FOR TIME

influential shift in 2017 was that ICE agents arrested 146% more noncriminals, compared with the year before. In 2016, 14% of the people whom ICE arrested had no criminal record. In 2017, close to 26% were. "There's the sense that they're just going after low-hanging fruit," says Pratheepan Gulasekaram, a constitutional and immigration law professor at Santa Clara University.

The effect is an implied war on all undocumented immigrants. It's a move that unravels decades of state, federal and local policies designed to establish a level of relative security among immigrant communities, experts say. That security, in turn, encourages broad social benefits—like people reporting crimes to police, rather than avoiding all officers, or enrolling children in government health programs. Under Trump, that's all up for grabs.

Take Amenul Hoque, for example. The Bangladeshi father of three, who overstayed a visa in 2005, had lived in Newark, N.J., with his wife and three kids for the past 14 years. In 2011, ICE officials granted Hoque a temporary stay of removal, requiring that he check in regularly with ICE, which he did. His next check-in was scheduled for March, according to local news. But on Jan. 17, ICE agents showed up at the fried-chicken restaurant where he works, detained him for nearly a month and then loaded him onto a flight to Bangladesh. Hoque's wife Rojina Akter, who is also undocumented, is now in deportation proceedings as well.

This decision to create "a culture where enforcement appears to happen randomly," Gulasekaram says, is not an accident. It has the effect of discouraging new immigrants from coming to the U.S. and encouraging existing ones to leave. The Trump Administration deported fewer immigrants last year largely because fewer people were attempting to cross the border.

In a statement to TIME, Danielle Bennett, an agency spokeswoman, said that "national security threats, immigration fugitives and illegal re-entrants" remain priorities for deportation. The agency has also said that it does not "unnecessarily disrupt the parental rights of alien parents and legal guardians of minor children." In its 2017 report, ICE also stated that 92% of its arrests in 2017 were criminals. Its definition of *criminal* includes those with civil offenses, like non-DUI traffic stops, and those whose only crimes are immigration-related.

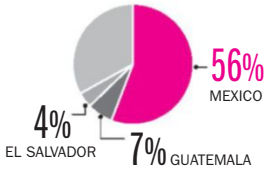
WHO ARE THE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS?

Of the 326 million people in the U.S. ...

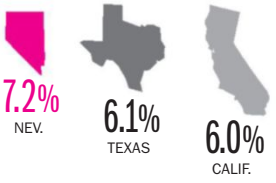
11 million are undocumented immigrants

5.9 million
Number of U.S.-citizen children under age 18 who are living with an undocumented family member

WHERE THEY CAME FROM
Top 3 countries of birth for undocumented immigrants



WHERE THEY LIVE
States with the highest shares of undocumented residents



SOURCES: POPULATION: U.S. CENSUS, PEW ESTIMATE (2017); CHILDREN: AMERICAN IMMIGRATION COUNCIL ESTIMATES OF 2010–14 CENSUS DATA; BIRTH COUNTRIES: MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE (2014); WHERE THEY LIVE: PEW (2014)

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS in communities across the country are struggling to gauge the threat. Maria, who is now caring for three U.S.-citizen children on her own, feels trapped. She can take her kids back to a country where she has citizenship rights but where they have none. Or she can stay in the U.S. and live in fear. Because she's already here illegally, she has no easy path to legal status. Trump uses terms like *anchor babies* and *chain migration* to describe how families supposedly bring their relatives into the country, but it doesn't actually work that way, says Laura St. John, legal director at the Florence Immigrant and Refugee Rights Project. "It's a myth."

St. John says Maria's American-born children can't petition DHS to give her legal status until the eldest turns 21. That's in 2036. Someone in Maria's position would need to obtain a federal waiver, a process that often takes up to 10 years and could require that she return to Mexico to wait it out, St. John explains. Maria's brother, a U.S. citizen, could also petition for her, but that too would likely require Maria to return to Mexico, for an even longer period of time. The State Department is so backlogged that it's currently processing visa requests for Mexican siblings filed on Nov. 15, 1997. "To people who practice immigration law, 'anchor babies' and all that just sounds ridiculous," says Erin Quinn, an attorney at the Immigrant Legal Resource Center in San Francisco. "There's really no legal mechanism for people like [Maria] to leave and come back legally. It just doesn't exist."

For now, Maria will stay in the U.S., pick grapes and care for her children in the country of their birth. But when she imagines raising her girls without their father, tears slide down her cheeks. "It's the worst thing that you can do to a family," she says. Every day, when Alejandro calls on FaceTime, Isabella, who's 2½, lights up. "Papi?" she asks, reaching for Maria's iPhone. A thousand miles south, in Sonora, Mexico, Alejandro holds his screen close to his face. "Papi!" Isabella squeals. "I love you!"

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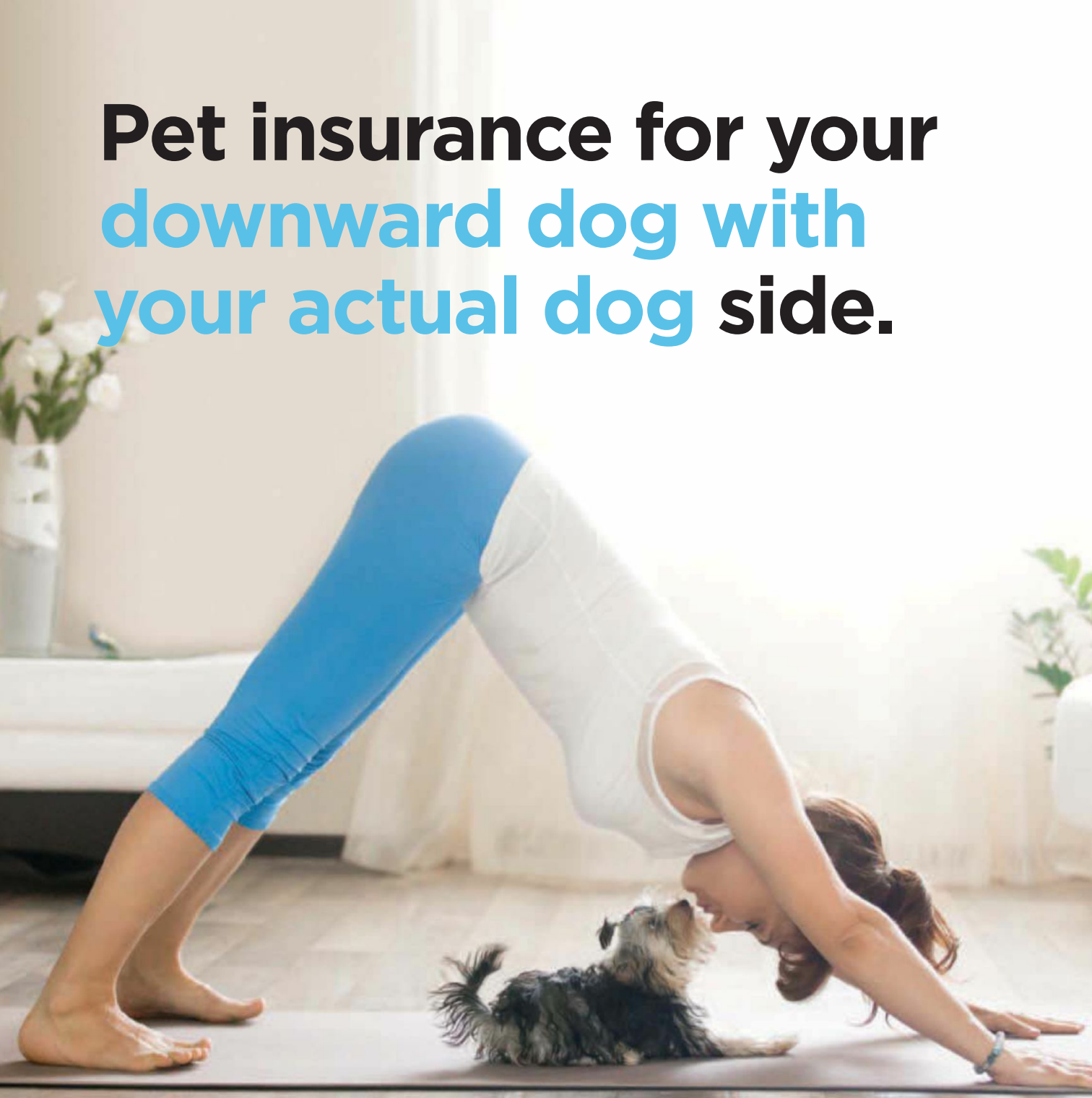

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الله اكبر

LIFE after WARTIME

Fifteen years on from the U.S. invasion and with ISIS in retreat, Iraq is trying to build a peace that lasts

By Vivienne Walt/Baghdad
Photographs by Emanuele Satolli for TIME

Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi in his office at Saddam Hussein's old Republican Palace in Baghdad on Jan. 29; after the 2003 invasion, it became the headquarters of the U.S. occupation

On a crisp afternoon in late winter, Bassem Qassim, a 55-year-old militia fighter, drives past a checkpoint on the edge of Baghdad, where the city's clogged traffic gives way to sheep grazing and villagers tending small crops next to their houses.

A couple of dozen miles farther, he stops the car in a tiny hamlet to show how perilously close the Islamic State came to taking the Iraqi capital during its stampede into the country in 2014. He points to a cluster of trees on the edge of a small community. "They were right here," says Qassim, who fought a fierce battle against the jihadists for 3½ years. "This was our line of defense."

The sleepy dot on the map does not look like a war front. And yet, after years of conflict, countless fault lines like this crisscross Iraq, leaving riven communities and millions of upturned lives in their wake. Now, as the country digs out from its grueling war against ISIS, it is trying to forge from its victory a lasting peace for the first time since the U.S. led a military invasion of Iraq in March 2003, in defiance of the U.N., to overthrow the autocrat Saddam Hussein.

Fifteen years on, TIME returned to Baghdad to speak to Iraqis of almost every stripe, from battle-hardened fighters and grieving civilians to Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi. All are trying to determine how they can finally prosper, and whether this relative calm can last. Having all but obliterated ISIS's caliphate, Iraqis are grappling with a question that had largely receded during years of fighting, and that now looms large over the parliamentary elections scheduled for May 12: Can their country emerge as a functioning democracy, with its Shi'ite, Sunni and Kurdish populations relatively united? And can it do that without the safety net of the U.S. military?

If it succeeds—and it is a big if—Iraq could become that beacon of freedom that U.S. officials once promised 15 years ago, in arguing for a war many now regard as a disastrous decision. "We have sacrificed a great deal of blood and treasure for the future of Iraq," says Lieut. General Paul Funk, the top U.S. commander in the country. He believes that under ideal circumstances, Iraq could act as a multi-ethnic buffer between the region's bitter rivals, both of which are Iraq's neighbors: Shi'ite-dominated Iran and Sunni-dominated Saudi Arabia. "I see in Iraq the future of the Middle East," he says.

Yet if Iraq fails and slips back into conflict, the country could again play host to the region's violent proxy wars—potentially embroiling the U.S. in a yet another protracted engagement. Already, ISIS survivors have begun to launch attacks, and Iraqi leaders believe that they are attempting to regroup. "No country can withstand such onslaught," al-Abadi tells TIME. "Our policy is to prevent it, rather than

'People must feel part of this country and like they are citizens of this country. At the end of the day, we must deliver to the people.'

HAIDER AL-ABADI, Prime Minister of Iraq

Iraqi special forces near Ibrahim Bin Ali on Jan. 30, a couple dozen miles from Baghdad; the village marks the closest ISIS came to the capital

being able to stand up to it if it happens again. We have to be ready."

DEEP INSIDE Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone sits the opulent, sprawling edifice that until 2003 served as Saddam's Republican Palace, with four 13-ft. bronze busts of the dictator on the rooftop, visible for miles around. The busts are long gone. And now, down those same long marble corridors where Saddam once ruled with an iron grip is the office of al-Abadi, who has been charged with creating a prosperous country out of postwar Iraq.

It is a daunting mission. Al-Abadi, 65, seems an unlikely figure to have landed the role. Short and soft-spoken, he does not look like the textbook version of a war hero, yet he has been cast as one in his election campaign. Billboards around Baghdad highlight his role as Iraq's military commander in chief, who brought the country back from the brink.

An electrical engineer raised in Baghdad, al-Abadi spent more than 20 years in exile in London during Saddam's regime. He flew home in 2003, just as the U.S. invasion began. As a member first of the governing council and then Iraq's parliament, he witnessed firsthand the turmoil that followed 2003, which cost 4,500 American lives and an estimated 460,000 Iraqi ones. The invasion uncorked lethal enmities, with Saddam's hard-line Sunni loyalists staging a bloody insurgency against the U.S. military and their Iraqi allies, and Shi'ite groups waging battle against both U.S. forces and Sunnis. Iraq has, to many, become shorthand for the unintended consequences of U.S. intervention, and has put American foreign policy on a more isolationist path. President Trump says it was a "mistake" for the U.S. to have intervened.

The Sunni insurgency after 2003 seeded a murderous terrorist cell, al-Qaeda in Iraq, which later morphed into a group with designs on the country itself: the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria, or ISIS. In 2014, its fighters seized swaths of territory, including Iraq's second city, Mosul. With most U.S. combat troops having left the country in 2011, the Iraqi military was badly outgunned, and many fled the jihadists' path. Al-Abadi was appointed Prime Minister that year, after at least four Iraqi army

A billboard in Baghdad on Jan. 28 shows portraits of Shi'ite spiritual leaders, from left, Mohammad Sadeq al-Sadr, Muqtada al-Sadr and Ali al-Sistani

divisions collapsed in the face of ISIS. Many Iraqis blamed al-Abadi's predecessor Nouri al-Maliki, a hard-line Shi'ite politician, for leaving alienated Sunnis amenable to ISIS propaganda.

Dislodging ISIS took over three years. The U.S. military rushed forces to Iraq to help turn back the tide. It was a grueling battle; retaking Mosul involved what U.S. commanders called the deadliest urban combat since World War II. Finally, in December, al-Abadi declared victory, congratulating the country for crushing an "enemy that wanted to kill our civilization." Little more than a month later, he shudders at how close ISIS came to seizing Baghdad itself. "Do not forget, they tried to establish a state in the region," he says, sitting in his Baghdad office with a large map of Iraq on the wall. "And they were not a long distance away from achieving their dream."

Al-Abadi now has a much more complex mission: governing his fractured country, while ensuring that ISIS cannot regroup. He must manage the competing interests of Shi'ites, Sunnis and Kurds, and the splits within those groups, as well as the interests of the anti-ISIS coalition, including the U.S., Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Jordan. "Abadi is trying to juggle many different allies," says Renad Mansour, an Iraq research fellow at the U.K. think tank Chatham House. "He is up against a difficult task."

After nearly four years in office, al-Abadi claims he has learned some hard lessons from the disaster of ISIS. He believes the key to halting another existential threat is to instill in all Iraqis a sense of nationhood, connecting them to the central government at least as much as to their tribal and religious leaders. "People must feel part of this country and like they are citizens of this country," he says. "At the end of the day, we must deliver to the people."

To do that, he will need to tackle perhaps the toughest problem of all: rampant corruption. The antigraft organization Transparency International described Iraq in 2015 as suffering "extensive, pervasive corruption across all levels of government and sectors." When al-Abadi took office in 2014, he discovered 50,000 fictitious "ghost soldiers" on the military payroll, whose commanders were together reaping about $380 million a year. In response, he fired several generals and top officials.

Despite that, al-Abadi has managed to make only a tiny dent in the dizzying graft during his time in office. He describes the anticorruption fight—his main election promise—as somewhat overwhelming. "People are calling on me to put corrupt people into prison," he says. "Where do you start?" Perhaps, some would reply, with the biggest culprits. Yet that could include powerful figures and leave al-Abadi himself politically vulnerable. "No one really important ever goes to jail," says Kirk Sowell, head of a Middle East–focused risk consultancy. "If [Abadi] cracked down hard, there would be blood in the water."

Yet on the streets of Baghdad, patience is wearing thin. Many Iraqis are too young to remember life under the hated dictator Saddam—about 40% of Iraq's 37 million people were not even born when

Nariman Abujahar, center, a computer engineering student, celebrates her 23rd birthday with friends on a restaurant's rooftop terrace in the Mansour district of Baghdad on Jan. 27

the U.S. invaded in 2003, according to U.N. statistics. Young Iraqis do not necessarily see themselves as having been liberated; they simply want a good government and decent prospects. "I want to get out of Iraq because I see no good future here," says Mustafa Jassim, 25, a qualified fine-arts teacher working as a juicer in a downtown Baghdad market.

Al-Abadi says he sees job creation as urgent. One obvious way to employ large numbers of Iraqis is to begin repairing the war damage. In February, representatives from dozens of countries and hundreds of companies gathered in Kuwait for a conference on reconstructing Iraq after years of battle, which devastated large parts of Mosul and shattered infrastructure elsewhere. Done successfully, it could be a "peace dividend," says U.S. Ambassador Douglas A. Silliman, speaking from the Green Zone. "Abadi is focusing not on rich donors but on reshaping the economy," he says. "He is trying to give people hope that tomorrow will be better than yesterday was."

Two weeks earlier, al-Abadi had told me it would cost about $90 billion to rebuild the country—a job he believes is key to halting another onslaught. In late January, he invited TIME to sit in on a closed-door meeting in the old palace, with ambassadors from the U.S., Britain, Japan, the U.N. and others, to discuss the upcoming Kuwait conference. He warned the diplomats that rebuilding Iraq quickly and effectively was crucial not only for people's daily lives, but also in order to stave off further terrorist threats. "It is a huge task," he told them.

Yet the country raised just $30 billion for its rebuilding effort, perhaps because governments are waiting to see if al-Abadi will be re-elected in May. The U.S. favors the Western-educated al-Abadi. But his powerful opponents inside Iraq, many backed by Iran, will likely squeeze him for concessions.

There's good reason for many to believe this moment of cohesion will be fleeting. ISIS unified Iraq even as it divided it, with many Iraqis bound together in their mutual hatred for the jihadists. Now with ISIS largely gone, the familiar ethnic schisms have resurfaced among the majority-Shi'ite population, the once powerful Sunnis and the minority Kurds. Iraqi Kurdistan held a referendum last September to declare independence from Baghdad, prompting a swift crackdown from al-Abadi. Now his re-election in May rests on fragile alliances that may not please everyone. In February, the Institute for the Study of War, in Washington, D.C., warned U.S. officials that they should prepare for a possible pro-Iranian Iraqi government after May.

The combat-ready Shi'ite militia forces, whose reputation and influence have grown hugely after years of fighting ISIS, may come to the fore. Grouped together as the Popular Mobilization Forces, or PMF, the dozens of groups—most backed by Iran—joined the war effort alongside the Iraqi army, though at far lower pay. Now they expect recognition, including more political power.

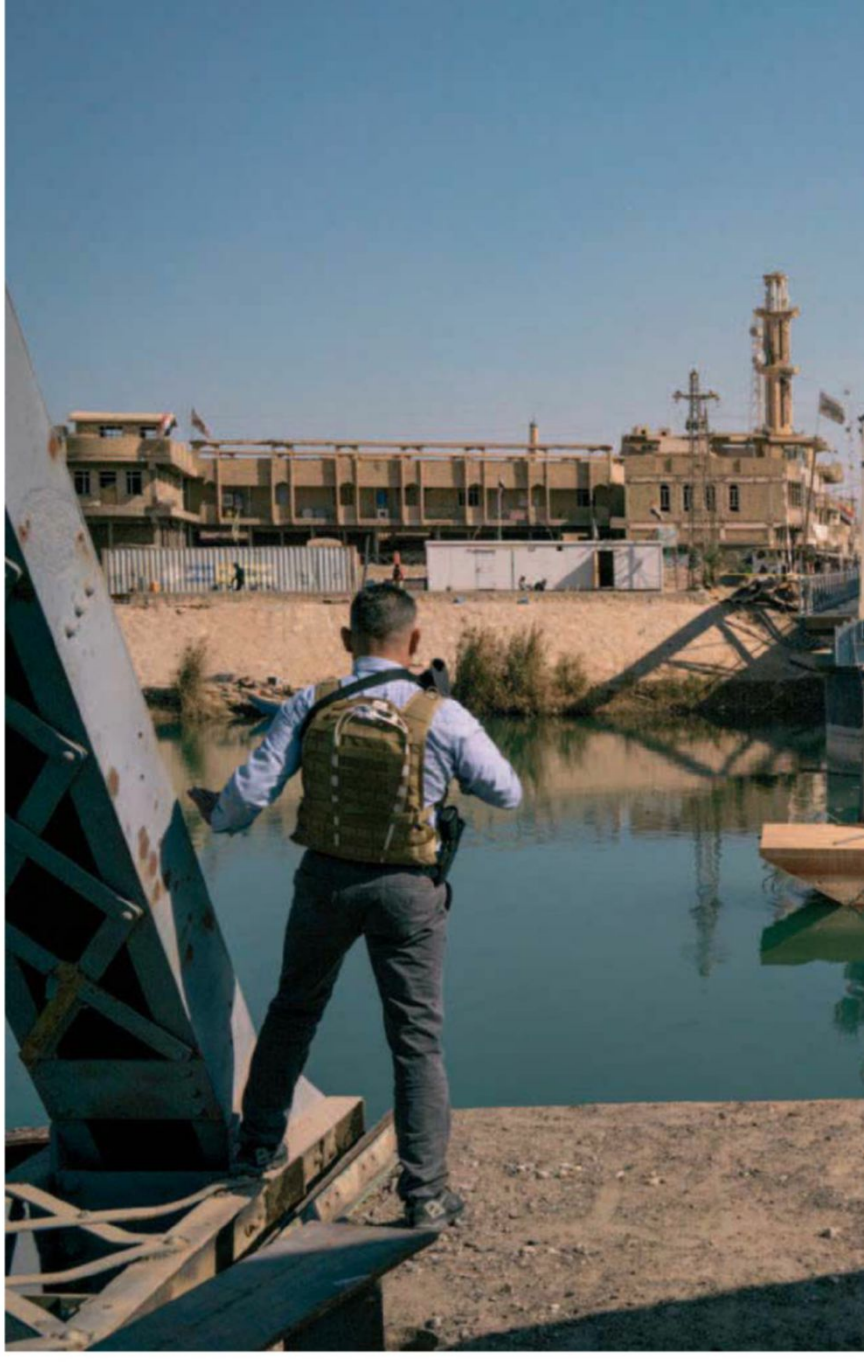
"Victory was assigned to Abadi's name, but Iraqis knew very well who defeated ISIS," says Bassem

Qassim, the militia fighter who drove us into the countryside; he is a member of the Badr Organization, a military and political group with ties to Iran, which comprised the biggest militia force in the PMF.

With his potbelly and gray mustache, Qassim does not look like the model of a hardened fighter. Yet he rushed to join the battle against ISIS in June 2014, after watching Iraq's Grand Ayatullah Ali al-Sistani tell his followers on TV to fight the jihadists. Thousands complied. Qassim fought for years, moving from one battlefront to the next, each time setting up a thermal camera and firing mortars at ISIS. "They called me the ISIS terminator," he says.

If al-Abadi wins a second term as Prime Minister, he will need to reckon with the thousands of war veterans like Qassim whose bravery has brought strong applause from grateful Iraqis—even those wary of the influence that Iran wields over the militia groups. "They deserve all our respect," says Brigadier General Yahya Rasool, an Iraqi military spokesman. "They are fierce fighters."

There's also the unresolved question of the U.S. forces whose support was instrumental to defeating ISIS. U.S. officials have indicated that they intend to wind down their presence in Iraq. There are currently about 5,200 U.S. military personnel in the country, according to Colonel Ryan Dillon, a U.S. military spokesman in Baghdad, down from 170,000 in 2007. Iraqis are split on this; military officials say they are still heavily dependent on U.S. support and fear a resurgence of the jihadist threat if the U.S. leaves. "We do not want an unfinished job," al-Abadi says. Others, however, can't wait for the U.S. to be gone. "They have no role in fighting. They have no role in staying," says Mowaffak al-Rubaie, a Baghdad member of parliament who sits on the security and defense committee. "Most Iraqis would want them to leave, with a big fat thank-you."



Workers in Fallujah repair a bridge that was destroyed in a fierce battle between Iraqi forces and ISIS, seen here on Feb. 1

IRAQ'S FUTURE should be bright, at least on paper. Its mammoth oil reserves total about 148 billion barrels, the fifth largest on earth, and it has considerable untapped gas. There is also plentiful fertile land for agriculture, with two long rivers that snake across hundreds of miles. There are glimpses everywhere of that potential future in Baghdad, a city of 7 million. One January evening, TIME dined on a street jammed with teenagers celebrating the start of a school break in a row of restaurants packed with families—a scene that would have been unimaginable 15 years ago.

Nonetheless, Iraq remains deeply scarred by war. And it is those scars that could well reopen, if left to fester in resentment and disappointment. That much is clear when you drive just 35 miles west out of Baghdad to a place that has seen years of violent conflict: Fallujah. Few places in Iraq so well encapsulate the battles over the past 15 years as the scene of some of the fiercest fighting during the U.S. occupation, and a decade later under ISIS.

For Americans, the city that was home to 320,000 people before ISIS still evokes chills. In 2004, four Americans working for the defense contractor Blackwater were ambushed and killed, their mutilated bodies dragged through Fallujah's streets by cheering residents, who then hanged two from the iron bridge that spans the Euphrates River. The killings led to a bloody retaliation by U.S. forces, including the killing of unarmed protesters. What followed was the start of al-Qaeda in Iraq, which took root among Fallujah's narrow alleyways.

Fifteen years on, there is still a deep bitterness among many in Fallujah against the U.S. military. "The U.S. entered Iraq saying they had liberated us," says Hamid al-Arssan, deputy chairman of the Fallujah city council, sitting in his office, which

overlooks the infamous bridge. "But they dismantled services with no future plan."

Fallujah now has fresher traumas. ISIS-affiliated groups seized the city in January 2014. While most people fled the city, nearly 60,000 endured more than two years under ISIS rule. For those who remained, the risks were lethal.

In June 2014, as Iraqi forces fought to retake the city, Soufian Kher Allan Mohsen, 52, piled his wife and five children into a car to leave. It was a fateful decision. On the edge of town, a missile exploded near his vehicle, killing his wife and three of his children. Mohsen was badly injured, with his left arm mangled and his face disfigured. A former professional handball player, he now works in a store selling bird-hunting gear. He describes his life as a grim psychological struggle. Months ago, he applied to the government for compensation for his dead family members. "They gave me a receipt, but I've had no answer," he says, as he flips through pictures on his phone, showing his wife lying dead in a blue and gold headscarf and his 17-year-old son's corpse on a gurney.

As Iraq emerges from the fog of another war, the damage is not only to buildings and infrastructure. That, in the end, is reparable with enough money. The ravaged psyches and the cycle of hatred could prove far more difficult and lengthy to fix.

For now, Iraqis appear weary of conflict and desperate for peace. "We have given a lot of sacrifices in this war to push the terrorists out," al-Abadi says. ISIS, he adds, "caused millions of displaced people. They killed many people." Just another in a chain of events—the unforeseen consequences—that followed the night the first U.S. bombs fell on Baghdad 15 years ago. ◻

'Abadi is focusing not on rich donors but on reshaping the economy ... He is trying to give people hope that tomorrow will be better than yesterday was.'

DOUGLAS A. SILLIMAN, U.S. ambassador to Iraq

HQ Trivia main host Scott Rogowsky (in tie) *and co-creator Rus Yusupov*

Savage Questions

The HQ Trivia app is a massive success. Now all its founders have to do is keep the questions coming

By Lisa Eadicicco

IT'S ABOUT 3:30 P.M. ON A WEDNESDAY IN FEBRUARY, AND some 700,000 people are anxiously waiting for Scott Rogowsky to show up. As the minutes tick by, their anticipation lights up their smartphone screens at an increasingly frantic pace. But Rogowsky is hunched over a laptop in SoHo cramming for the upcoming trivia game he's about to host. (By the time he gets to it, about a million players will have logged on.) He's quiet and focused until he isn't: "What did Dr. Robotnik do?" he asks incredulously, referring to the fictional villain from the *Sonic the Hedgehog* video-game series.

The typical preshow routine for Rogowsky, one of the hosts of the wildly popular HQ Trivia, isn't usually so rushed. For the uninitiated, HQ Trivia is a live game show that people can play and watch via a mobile app. The free game doles out a cash prize for all contestants who correctly answer 12 questions in a row, but players are given only 10 seconds to answer. The money pot usually fluctuates somewhere around $2,000, though it has been as high as $50,000. The prize is split evenly among all the winners, leaving some champions with just a few dollars and luckier victors with thousands, depending on how many winners they're sharing it with. HQ games usually air like clockwork at 3 p.m. and 9 p.m. E.T. on weekdays, but today the producers added a surprise double feature in the afternoon slot.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC RYAN ANDERSON FOR TIME

The formula is working: since its August 2017 launch, HQ has grown at a breakneck pace, reaching a record high of 2.18 million concurrent players on March 4, up from 2 million on Feb. 4. In the app's success many see the perfection of interactive television or an antidote to the atomized media world created by streaming television and apps. Others see it as a preview of the dystopian nightmare those things ensure. Either way, a lot of people are dropping everything they're doing at 3 p.m. daily to join in.

Despite the massive buzz and considerable controversy the young startup has generated, much about HQ remains a secret. How will it turn a profit? TBD. How will it avoid the fate of flash-in-the-pan app fads? Not yet clear. What's certain is that HQ has perfected a formula for getting people to regularly tune in. And that recipe begins with how the show's staff writes and presents its trivia.

HQ TRIVIA IS the brainchild of Rus Yusupov and Colin Kroll, who previously co-created the social video app Vine and sold it to Twitter in 2012 for a reported $30 million. HQ shares some of Vine's chief characteristics: it takes a well-established medium—then it was funny video clips, now it's trivia—miniaturizes it and makes it feel natural on a phone. (Not to mention, it became an overnight hit with users.) The result is a game that sometimes feels haphazard and chaotic. Its video streams could regularly freeze Rogowsky and the other four hosts in awkward frames. And sometimes players get glitched out of finishing a round. It's all wildly addictive.

HQ Trivia's habit-forming hook boils down to the questions, which can range from mind-numbingly easy (Which of these is NOT part of Disney's Magic Kingdom? Answer: Cleveland) to the esoteric and obscure (The height difference between the current World's Tallest & Shortest Living Men is roughly how much? Answer: 6 ft. 0 in.). These wild swings between reward and disappointment make playing HQ almost feel like gambling, minus the monetary risk, since the game is entirely free to play. Each time you beat your high score and make it to a new question, you've come closer to winning the next round. Theoretically, anyway.

Turns out, the questions are engineered that way. Yusupov and head writer Jesse Thompson have a growing team of writers and researchers following a surprisingly well-honed process. (Rogowsky and HQ's head of content, Nick Gallo, wrote most of the questions themselves during the app's early days.) Writers focus on specific categories when coming up with questions, which regularly change based on what's happening in the world. If the category is "home life," for example, a writer may be asked to come up with questions about taxes, getting married or pregnancy. These prompts are then stored away for future shows in no particular order, giving HQ's showrunners a bank to choose from when assembling quizzes. Fact checkers now verify every question added to the stockpile before it ends up in a show's lineup.

In order to reach that stage, questions must meet HQ's rigid guidelines, which "have become the bible" for how the team writes, according to Yusupov. "I think there are 50 different filters that each writer needs to go through to get a perfect question," says Thompson. Such criteria is why you likely won't get questions that involve solving math equations or that home in on heavy subjects like death or violence. Thompson mentioned disgraced Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein as an example of a topic that's been in the news but wouldn't fit within HQ's criteria of keeping things upbeat. "When you're focused on this thing, your thoughts are racing," says Thompson of the app. "And we want to keep the focus right there. We don't want players to go to dark places."

Other guidelines limit how long questions can be and how they're phrased in order to avoid hiccups and mispronunciations on air. "If we're writing stuff that trips up the hosts, it's bad," says Thompson. "You see it once in a while, when we get something that's too ambitious and someone doesn't quite nail it, and it throws off the flow."

More challenging than coming up with questions can be inventing fake answers that are indisputably wrong yet clever enough to fool most of the audience. "In my first month of writing questions, I would dip into that gray area of, it's not wrong but people are debating it," Thompson says. One method for avoiding this, he says, is to approach the process by coming up with the solution before the problem. As an example, Thompson cited a recent question that asked players to pick the correct name for a square with rounded corners, which he recently discovered is called a squircle. "So I was like, 'O.K., now I just have to come up with one ridiculous-sounding thing and then one that sounds

TEST YOURSELF

Here are questions and answers from a recent HQ Trivia quiz:

1

At a bank, an ATM typically dispenses what?

- **Cash**
- **Funny one-liners**
- **Root beer**

2

A song from Disney's *Frozen* asks, "Do You Want to Build a ..." what?

- **Snowman**
- **Shoe store**
- **Shrimp boat**

3

Which of these four-letter words is a Southwestern necktie?

- **Bolo**
- **Lobo**
- **Koko**

4

Which university has a mascot whose full first name is Buckingham?

- **University of Wisconsin**
- **Indiana University**
- **Ohio State University**

5

Which of these television shows did NOT have a spin-off?

- **Eerie, Indiana**
- **Baywatch**
- **Boston Public**

6

Mark Zuckerberg helped unveil which smartphone?

- **Google Nexus 3**
- **Motorola Droid RAZR**
- **HTC First**

kind of normal," he says. "And pretty much everyone picked the normal-sounding one."

Occasionally, writers will come up with a question that knocks out the majority of players, referred to by hosts and players as a "savage question." Sometimes what turns out to have been a savage question shocks the game's creators just as much as it does players. "It's very revealing about what people do now, and what people won't know," says Yusupov. "Who would have thought that people didn't know ivory comes from elks and not rhinos?" Even Rogowsky, who sometimes plays the game when he's not hosting, says he has never won a single game of HQ.

The opening and closing monologues that happen at the beginning and end of each show are also scripted by both the writers and the hosts. Thompson tells me some writers specifically focus on the "frills," which is HQ lingo for the banter and factoids between each question. Most of the time, the hosts stick to the script. "Scott will read, like, 50% of what the writers have written," says Thompson. "And he'll improv the rest. But he's an improv comedian, and we can't expect other people to do that."

Frills are especially important when something goes wrong during a broadcast, which has been a fairly common occurrence in the show's short history. When there's a technical hitch, HQ hosts must vamp for the audience until the issue is fixed. "I should come in with something prepared, like a backup for when things go down," Rogowsky says. "I've toyed with the idea of bringing in a copy of *The Great Gatsby,*" presumably to read out loud. Yet it's in these unscripted moments that Rogowsky feels the most comfortable on air. He likens it to making small talk in an elevator that's stuck between floors. "In a weird way, I sort of relish it, because it's a chance for me to have pure fun with the audience," he says. "These dark corners of my mind now get exposed on HQ because those synapses fire in a very strange way when you're talking to a camera for 15 minutes."

That length—15 minutes—is intentional too. The creators decided to make the game 12 questions long, because it amounts to about 15 minutes when you account for each 10-second question and the frills in between. All of which is just long enough to keep people hooked without boring them. "We want to own time slots," Yusupov says. "What I'm seeing is that people are developing habits around HQ in the same way that they would develop habits around their favorite TV shows."

7

Which of these is NOT mentioned in Cardi B's hit song "Bodak Yellow"?

- North Face
- Yves Saint Laurent
- Frosted Flakes

8

Which of these was the nickname of a real French monarch?

- Charles the Bald
- Charles the Odd
- Charles the Rude

9

"See ya!" is the iconic home-run call of what baseball announcer?

- Vin Scully
- Michael Kay
- Harry Caray

10

A healthy parathyroid gland is roughly the same color as a common type of what?

- Mayonnaise
- Mustard
- Ketchup

11

Which of these bank robbers was NEVER the FBI's "Public Enemy No. 1"?

- Baby Face Nelson
- Clyde Barrow
- Pretty Boy Floyd

12

The dance troupe featured in *Radio City's Christmas Spectacular* was originally from where?

- Los Angeles
- Chicago
- St. Louis

WHETHER THE HABIT will stick is an open question. Yusupov has a track record of founding fleeting apps that shine bright and fade quickly. Vine helped launch the careers of new age Internet celebrities like Nash Grier and Logan Paul, but Twitter shut it down in 2017 as rival social apps began offering similar features. And for an app that's half a year old, HQ has found itself embroiled in its fair share of scandals, the most notable of which occurred in early February. When it was reported that HQ was raising money from Founders Fund, the venture-capital firm co-founded by Peter Thiel (who helped fund the lawsuit that eventually shut down popular news site Gawker), the phrase #DeleteHQ circulated on Twitter. In December, Recode reported that HQ Trivia's founders were having trouble securing funding because some investors were concerned about Kroll's behavior during his tenure at Twitter. Yusupov says he isn't worried about fans abandoning the app and defends his decision to work with Founders Fund's Cyan Banister, who is leading a $15 million investment in the company. "She believes in our vision, and we share the same philosophies around emerging technologies," he says.

Back at HQ Trivia's scrappy headquarters, that vision seems pretty clear. A styling station is positioned in the corner near a glowing HQ sign where host Sharon Carpenter is reviewing the script for the upcoming game she'll be hosting for U.K. players as a stylist brushes makeup over her face. A giant black board that extends from the floor to nearly the ceiling is covered in multicolored sticky notes that signify which host is scheduled to present the quiz on a given day. HQ Trivia may dominate the 3 p.m. and 9 p.m. time slots for millions of smartphone owners, but Yusupov has grander ambitions. "I think we can expand to a new schedule and have people shift their behaviors around these shared moments," he says. Minutes after HQ notified users about the surprise game I witnessed, hundreds of thousands have logged on — even though another game ended just a few minutes prior. "Everyone came back," Yusupov announces, as if the unscheduled game was a test he wasn't sure he'd pass but is glad he did. Much like his users, Yusupov is relishing a surprise win— and eagerly awaiting the next one. ☐

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Dorothy Fitzgerald of Fitzgerald Subaru demonstrates her commitment to education by supporting Operation Outreach-USA, a program that provides books to elementary-school students and teacher guides to educators to promote literacy and character building.

The Drive for Better

Each year, the TIME Dealer of the Year Award, sponsored by Ally, celebrates automobile dealers who are doing it right—both on and off the lot.

NADA

At Wilsonville Toyota in Oregon, Dave Jachter implemented a "no bull" one-person, one-price policy to improve the retail purchase experience. Outside the showroom, his straight-shooting style has helped raise millions of dollars for local charities.

In Rockville, Md., Dorothy Fitzgerald of Fitzgerald Subaru created a unique work-study partnership between local auto dealers and the school district. That was 40 years ago, and she's still big on education, supporting Operation Outreach-USA, which provides books to elementary-school students and teacher guides to educators to promote literacy and character building.

At Sellers Buick GMC and Sellers Subaru in suburban Detroit, Sam Slaughter has received four nods as one of the 100 Best Dealerships to Work For by *Automotive News* because of the way he has positively impacted his employees. As a board member and past president of the Foundation for Youth and Families in Farmington Hills, Mich., Slaughter has had a similar impact off the lot, too.

These are just three of the 47 nominees for the 2018 TIME Dealer of the Year Award, the industry's highest accolade given to auto dealers for outstanding performance in their industry and in their communities.

"It is, hands down, the most prestigious award that a new-car dealer can earn," says Peter Welch, president and CEO of the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA). "The TIME Dealer of the Year Award distinguishes a dealer as an exemplar in the auto industry—someone who not only has attained business success but is also a pillar of the community. Dealers are not just business owners. They are philanthropists, civic leaders and activists. There's nothing better than being recognized for distinguished service and giving back to your community."

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Nominees for the 49th annual TIME Dealer of the Year Award consistently exhibit exceptional leadership. Their dedication to doing right by others is evident both at their dealerships and in their communities. Congratulations to each of this year's nominees from all of us at Ally.

TIME DEALER OF THE YEAR
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Striking this balance isn't easy, nor is the selection process. Of the nearly 50 nominees, four finalists are chosen—one from each NADA geographical region—by a panel of judges composed of faculty from the University of Michigan's Tauber Institute for Global Operations before one national winner is selected. This year's award will be presented on March 23 at the 2018 NADA Show, the auto industry's largest event.

"Being nominated as TIME Dealer of the Year is much more than a plaque on the wall or a badge on a website."

"Being nominated as TIME Dealer of the Year is much more than a plaque on the wall or a badge on a website," says Tim Russi, president of auto finance at Ally, one of the largest full-service auto finance operations in the country. "It is formal recognition of the kindness that drives dealers to support local charities and causes, epitomizing what it means to do it right. Over the seven years that Ally has sponsored the TIME Dealer of the Year program, we have been inspired by all of the dealers who are examples of strong local leadership."

By donating more than $475,000 in grants to eligible 501(c)(3) charitable organizations selected by all the nominees over the past seven years, Ally plays a key role in this network of generosity. "Our dedicated team at Ally takes a personal approach to working with our dealers to help them achieve their business goals, empowering them to give back to their local communities and invest in their employees," says Russi.

The panel of judges bases its decision on more than 10 criteria at the dealership, including customer satisfaction, ethics and market share, as well as a half dozen criteria recognizing community involvement, such as civic, political and educational activities. The two biggest reasons dealerships excel in these areas are increasing competition to deliver customer value and dealerships' deep commitment to their communities, resulting from the fact that most new-car dealerships in the country are locally owned.

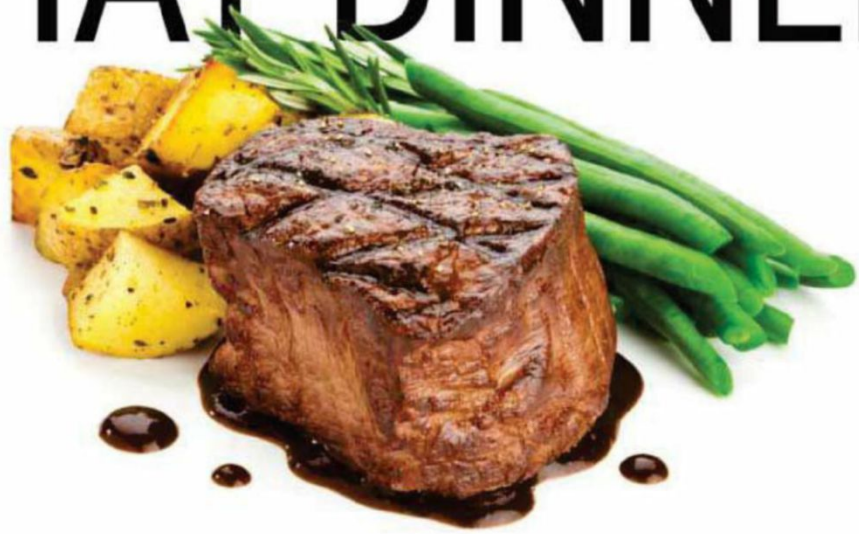
"The greatest advantage of a locally owned and operated dealership is that customers benefit from the savings," says Welch. "Fierce competition among America's franchised auto dealers benefits car buyers by driving down retail costs on both vehicle prices and financing rates. So when local dealers compete for business, the customers always win. It's inherent in our franchise model."

So is giving back, since your local auto dealer is also your neighbor and the dealership is typically a family legacy. "Dealers are part of their communities," adds Welch. "They live and play in the same neighborhoods where they work. The dealer network is a powerhouse because dealers are some of the first to respond during times of crisis and natural disaster.

"For example," Welch says, "in 2017, the NADA Foundation's Emergency Relief Fund quickly mobilized the resources of thousands of dealers across the country after the devastation of Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, Maria and Nate and the California wildfires. Within weeks, we raised more than $2 million and began distributing critical relief for dealership families in need. It's important for dealerships to give back because this is, after all, a *people* business first." ●

Ally team members in the Houston area banded together after Hurricane Harvey to help and support one another by providing food assistance and cleanup relief to those in need.

THAT DINNER



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THE Ice Queen's NEW KINGDOM

Disney hopes *Frozen* will continue to break records—this time on Broadway

By Eliana Dockterman

Caissie Levy, left, and Patti Murin star in a darker, more adult Broadway adaptation of Frozen

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SASHA ARUTYUNOVA FOR TIME

CAISSIE LEVY'S DRESSING ROOM IS, appropriately, freezing. The Broadway veteran sips a hot cup of coffee and builds a fortress of throw pillows around her to try to warm up before she takes the stage at the St. James Theater. There, she will stand in a makeshift ice palace and rehearse "Let It Go," the Grammy-winning anthem from Disney's animated blockbuster *Frozen*. The song closes Act I of *Frozen: The Broadway Musical* with the wry line, "The cold never bothered me anyway."

With visions of the *Lion King* musical's staggering $8.1 billion in global ticket sales dancing in its head, Disney is now trying to replicate that success with *Frozen*. Four years after its release, *Frozen* remains the highest-grossing animated movie of all time, with $1.3 billion at the worldwide box office. Families still wait three hours to ride the four-minute *Frozen* ride at Disney World.

The film earned fans by upending the princess fantasy that Disney had peddled for decades: after magical queen Elsa accidentally freezes her sister Anna's heart, the "act of true love" that saves Anna's life is not the kiss of a prince but a self-sacrificial act by one sister for another. The movie ends with the two

women happily unmarried. Now Disney will resurrect the story onstage at a time when the Time's Up movement is forcing producers to reconsider how they portray women on stage and screen.

Social relevance aside, Disney is calculating that the musical, which began previews on Feb. 22, will also stir up excitement for the film's 2019 sequel, *Frozen 2,* which will likely generate another top-selling album, another Halloween dominated by Elsa dresses and new attractions at the Disney theme parks. Hit movies make money. A hit movie tied to a hit musical is a profit-spewing franchise that runs for decades.

The Lion King remains the exemplar. The best-selling musical, which opened in 1997, has so far earned more money than all of the new *Star Wars* movies combined. And a two-decade run has set the groundwork for a live-action 2019 film adaptation that will star Beyoncé.

But even for a hit like *Frozen,* dethroning *The Lion King* is no guarantee. The *Frozen* musical, which cost a reported $30 million to produce, churned through three choreographers, two set designers, two Elsas and two directors before it staged a practice run in Denver. Disney finally tapped Michael Grandage to direct; he is a Tony winner who is known for his Shakespeare adaptations and has never directed an original musical. Under Grandage's leadership, Elsa's inner turmoil and Anna's fractured fantasy of romance have taken center stage—rather adult material for *Frozen*'s youngest fans.

The Denver show premiered to tepid reviews. Since then, Grandage has scrambled to rework 30% of the production before the Broadway premiere, on March 22. *Frozen* will face off with another magical phenomenon, *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child.* The play, which earned accolades in London, begins previews in New York on March 16.

Faced with the Boy Who Lived, Disney brought back the *Frozen* film's writer and co-director Jennifer Lee and songwriters Robert Lopez and Kristen Anderson-Lopez to pen 20 minutes of new material and 12 new songs for the stage. Disney hopes that Lee's deeper dive into the princesses' psyches, set to the tune of the Lopezes' new hits and bolstered by advanced onstage technology, will appeal to an older, broader audience.

"Just because a movie is a hit doesn't mean that it has any reason to exist onstage," says Thomas Schumacher, who runs Disney's theatrical group. Disappointing returns on *The Little Mermaid* and *Tarzan* proved that to be true. But for Schumacher, the *Frozen* decision was obvious. He saw an early cut of the film before it opened, when some of the animation was still sketched in, but recognized its musicality to be Broadway caliber. "I instantly texted [the executives in] California and said, 'When do we start?'" he says. The *Frozen* musical was greenlighted before the movie even hit theaters.

"IN A MUSICAL, songs are the main emotional storytelling tool," says Lopez, sitting in the upper decks of the St. James Theater. "You can't do a wolf chase credibly onstage because wolves are very dangerous."

"And smelly," his creative partner and wife Anderson-Lopez chimes in.

"And smelly," Lopez agrees. "Every time there was a big closeup in the film, you can't see those facial features from way up here in the balcony during a musical. So that becomes a song."

"In the movie, all the emotion is in the eyebrows," says Anderson-Lopez. "It's amazing what animators can do with eyebrows. We had to take those eyebrows and put them into lyrics."

Patti Murin, the actor who plays Anna, sings a new song in which she meditates on how her loneliness drove her to rush into an engagement with a prince she had just met. During a rehearsal at a brightly lit dance studio across the street from the theater, Murin tries to explain *The Bachelorette* and how the reality show mirrors Anna's fairy-tale fantasies to Grandage. "Anna would totally be on *The Bachelorette,* and she would marry the man at once," says Murin, who is sporting a tank top that reads GOAL DIGGER.

'This is literally the first time I've played a role on Broadway in a decade that doesn't revolve around a man.'

CAISSIE LEVY

A few feet away, Levy dons a purple cape over her T-shirt and leggings and picks up Elsa's scepter. Amid a flurry of full-skirted dancers flying in the air, she sings "Dangerous to Dream," another new song for the show. In it, the queen resigns herself to a life in which she must squelch desire for the sake of duty. A toddler-friendly romp this *Frozen* is not.

"Nobody is trying to hide that we wanted to age this story up," says Levy. Disney has found that 70% of the people who attend its musicals are adults without children. Anderson-Lopez argues that examining how the Disney princesses' psychological scars drive them to make certain decisions was the next logical storytelling step. "Wouldn't Cinderella have been really messed up from what she went through?" she asks.

Grandage, who once directed a barefoot Jude Law in an outdoor production of *Hamlet* on a snow-covered stage,

Elsa actor Levy greets her subjects during a rehearsal at a midtown dance studio

compares Elsa's existential crisis to the Prince of Denmark's soliloquies. "There's no question Elsa spends too much time on her own and contemplating why she's here, what she's doing, what the bigger picture is. I'm determined to make Disney the new Shakespeare," he says without a hint of irony. In that vein, Grandage has prioritized acting over singing and spectacle. "Everyone would have been rather angry if they couldn't sing," he says. "But I needed them to actually act between the songs, too, which is rarer than you might think."

EVERY DISNEY MUSICAL aims to instill wonder. During a dress rehearsal staged for fellow Broadway performers and their families, Elsa's smallest gestures trigger theme-park-level lighting tricks. Frost emanates from her touch and slowly envelops the set. If Elsa feels trapped, she summons jagged icicles that pierce the stage from below. When she feels free, as she does when she sings "Let It Go," she conjures gleaming fractals from the ceiling. In one final theatrical flourish, her queenly robes fly off to reveal an ice blue dress, hand-beaded over the course of 41 days by a team of seamstresses. Dozens of girls in the audience, wearing versions of the iconic outfit, squeal.

The production team moved the back wall of the St. James by 10 feet to accommodate the 80 tons of scenery used in the show. The reindeer Sven looks like he wandered off the set of *The Lion King.* Inside Sven's full-body costume, a ballet dancer holds stilts in his hands and walks on the tips of his toes. The result is a surprisingly nimble and expressive animal, though the work is so strenuous that Grandage had to hire a second dancer to play the role some nights—one of many changes made to the show since Denver.

During the flurry of revisions, Levy and Murin have clung to each other for support. Although both women starred in the musical *Wicked,* they have never worked together. They live in the same neighborhood in Brooklyn and spent one afternoon delving into *Frozen* fan fiction and looking up Anna and Elsa's astrological signs. Levy laughs when Murin suggests that they post a NO BOYS ALLOWED sign on the warmest bathroom where they can make quick costume changes. They revel in the rare opportunity to share top billing with another woman. "This is literally the first time I've played a role on Broadway in a decade that doesn't revolve around a man," says Levy. "It might even be the first time I *auditioned* for a role that didn't have a love interest."

When the movie premiered, *Frozen* had a feminist moment. Elsa dethroned Barbie as the top-selling doll the following year for the first time in Barbie's 50-year history—and not, Mattel research found, because Elsa looked all that different than Barbie. Parents believed that the powerful, independent Elsa made a better role model for their daughters. The movie laid the groundwork for more plucky princesses. Moana didn't have a love interest, and Belle took a break from playing kidnapee to invent the washing machine in last year's live-action *Beauty and the Beast.* At the House of Mouse, woke princesses are now a requirement.

"*Frozen* put a spotlight on the complicated relationships between women," says Murin. "It's not always happy, but they support each other. That's something that has really resonated with me in the Time's Up moment, when we as women have to work together for change."

That's not to say that Disney is a model of progressive ideals. After the interviews for this story were complete, several former Disney employees accused Schumacher of harassment. (He and Disney declined to comment.)

Women in Hollywood have pledged to pressure studios to promote more women. Lee already blazed that trail when she became the first woman to direct a Disney animated film, and the first woman to direct any film that grossed more than $1 billion. "Kristin [Anderson-Lopez] and I talk about how it's still rare for women to actually write these stories," says Lee. "When we do get to, we end up with real women on the page, not an idealized version of what a man wants a woman to be."

Anderson-Lopez agrees. "You get two women in a room," she says, "and something magical happens." ◻

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TimeOff

NICK ROBINSON stars as Simon, a teenager with a lot on his mind

Love, Simon is a milestone. But do today's teens need it?

By Daniel D'Addario

THERE'S A PRECEDENT FOR STORIES about gay teens coming into themselves. At the movies, films with lofty aspirations, from Oscar winner *Moonlight* to Cannes favorite *Blue Is the Warmest Color,* have made stirring and provocative art out of growing up—both what it's like to discover your sexuality and how to reconcile it with the rest of yourself as you becomes an adult. This year, *Call Me by Your Name,* a delicately made film about a teenage boy who learns valuable lessons after having an affair with his father's assistant, was effectively welcomed into the canon when it was nominated for four Oscars.

But those films are all squarely aimed at adults. Sure, there might be some teens seeking out *Call Me by Your Name,* but they're hardly the traditional target for art-house cinema. The new movie *Love, Simon* represents something new: a look at what it's like to be a gay teen that's as slick and mainstream as can be, like any other YA romantic comedy. In the film, Simon (Nick Robinson), a high school senior, enters into an anonymous online romance with a classmate. But neither he nor his email pen pal are out, and both struggle to articulate what seems to Simon—in spite of endless social advantages and a nurturing, liberal-minded family—impossible to say out loud.

As Simon, Robinson is both effortlessly charming and brusquely masculine in the way of teenage boys. Simon is a drama club member, yet he looks incomplete without a lacrosse stick in hand. As his profile at school evolves, he's mocked for being gay by the jocks, but elsewhere his search for a boyfriend is met with a zealous encouragement that saps the movie's tension. Plenty of gay kids are supported by those around them, but how many are applauded and rooted on by the school en masse, as Simon is, as they seek love?

The movie faces a double bind. Young queer people in bad situations, for whom it could represent a meaningful piece of affirmation, might well find its stabs at relatability fairly ludicrous. As we watch Simon's nurturing parents giving him a new car, parked outside their picturesque suburban home, he intones in voice-over narration, "I'm just like you." Sure thing, Simon! But those kids who were met with support when they came out are probably too sophisticated for *Love, Simon*—so much so that its vision of how good it feels for a masculine, traditionally attractive bro to receive encouragement might not resonate at all.

A milestone that feels overdue—the first mainstream teen comedy foregrounding a gay character—may have been outpaced by real life. Can a love story centered around a gay teen who is very carefully built to seem as straight as possible appeal to a generation that's boldly reinventing gender and sexuality on its own terms?

New classics

Young queer characters who have gotten to grow up onscreen, often far from the multiplex

Adèle Exarchopoulos
***Blue Is the Warmest Color* (2013)**
In this French film the character Adèle falls in and out of love with an older artist (Léa Seydoux)

Daniel Franzese
***Mean Girls* (2004)**
Franzese's raucous sidekick Damian was a rare gay character in 2000s teen rom-coms, even if he didn't get much plot of his own

Alex Hibbert
***Moonlight* (2016)**
Chiron knows he's different from other boys as early as childhood; coming to terms with that difference makes for a masterpiece

The film certainly has a pedigree that suggests it will find its audience. The film's director, Greg Berlanti, is best known for producing broadcast TV series that are beloved among teens, including *Arrow* and *Riverdale.* The latter show's success, though, illustrates exactly what *Love, Simon* is lacking. Based on the hypercolor Americana of Archie Comics, *Riverdale* is edgy to a fault, making use of both highbrow literary references and all manner of darkness that plays with being "adult."

Riverdale, and the more troubling Netflix series *13 Reasons Why*—which is careeningly careless with its treatment of a character's suicide—are what all kinds of teens have proved they want. Who could blame them? Both shows take on, in freewheeling fashion, various challenges that could befall a teenager, and then amp up those stories with a level of operatic dudgeon that's a part of being in high school; whether the subject is sex or suicide, it's a style that speaks directly to young people. *Love, Simon,* which begins with a slightly difficult-to-take premise and with every narrative twist moves further into a fantasyland idyll, could have used some of those shows' probing curiosity about what really makes teenagers ache or yearn or want to grow up. And it could, too, have used their willingness to push into more complexity. There's no reason that the first gay romantic comedy for young viewers necessarily needed to look so much like the pat, flat rom-coms with which today's teens are barely familiar.

ADULT AUDIENCES may be best equipped to judge the movie based on what it would have meant to them had it come out when they were teens, which is: a lot! The culture, even a decade ago, was awash in anti-gay rhetoric and messaging, from shows like *The Office* to movies like *The 40-Year-Old Virgin.* (The former relentlessly teased its lone queer office drone; the latter, a liberal-minded comedy, paused the action for a lengthy sequence of mean gay jokes.) *Love, Simon* is a corrective to that, presenting a universe in which being gay is, finally, O.K. What a lovely thing to hear in a world that's constantly telling you that you don't fit in.

But that's precisely the problem. Kids like Simon, in 2018, already have a good shot of fitting in. They don't need this movie. Will they look up from Netflix to notice that it has premiered? *Love, Simon* feels like a film responding to an entirely different culture, like one in which gay marriage was never legalized. That decision both acknowledged that equality for gays had won the day and opened the door for far more interesting and challenging fights, ones the next generation will lead. Movies that integrate those stories are ones worth anticipating with relish. *Love, Simon,* by contrast, simply feels like looking back in time. ◻

QUICK TALK

Armando Iannucci

The 54-year-old Veep *creator's new film,* The Death of Stalin, *is a farcical take on the political scrambling that followed the titular event. The film was banned in Russia but will arrive in U.S. theaters on March 9.*

How did you first connect with this story? I was already thinking of looking at a fictional dictator. There were unusual things happening in Europe—strong leaders emerging, and nationalist movements and disruption. Then I got sent [the book on which the film is based]. I thought, Why come up with a fiction when it's all true?

Having made a study of power's absurdity, how did looking at this real history affect your view of it? You sadly get a sense of what it must have been like being an ordinary citizen. We found out that they circulated joke books about Stalin, even though you could be shot for being in possession of one. The first thing I said as we started shooting was that we had to be very respectful to what happened to the people. There's no comedy there. The comedy's all from the senior figures inside the Kremlin.

Were you surprised when Russia banned the movie? I was. We knew the government would be sensitive, but it did get a license. The overturning of that decision happened at a very late date. The bureaucratic fumbling is in the spirit of the movie.

Can you appeal? It's an ongoing process. I'm hopeful. The thing is, ironically, by banning it they made it the most famous film in Russia. It indicates all the more the pointlessness in censorship.

"THEY CIRCULATED JOKE BOOKS ABOUT STALIN, EVEN THOUGH YOU COULD BE SHOT FOR BEING IN POSSESSION OF ONE"

How does the backlash compare with how other nations have taken your satire about their politics? From those Russians who've seen it, it's been greeted positively. Similarly, I was wary when we started *Veep* that the American public would say, "Who are you guys coming from another country to tell us how dumb our politics is?" And in fact I was touched by the warm reaction. These things are universal. The stories are the same no matter where you go.

—LILY ROTHMAN

MOVIES

The new not-so-nice girls

Thoroughbreds, a satirical psychological thriller coming out on March 9, opens with a teenage girl (Olivia Cooke) euthanizing a horse in a particularly gruesome manner. Later, she contemplates applying the same skills to the stepdad of her miserable friend (Anya Taylor-Joy). In *Flower* (March 16), Zoey Deutch plays a teen who takes down her suburb's seedy men by seducing them, and then extorting them for money. Their motivations differ, yet these characters represent a kind of update to an apathetic teenage antihero we've seen before—think Winona Ryder in *Heathers* or Sarah Michelle Gellar in *Cruel Intentions.* It's tempting to read these films as a condemnation of how narcissistic today's kids can be. But both films have much to say about the world around these teens: *Flower* emerges as a story about the consequences of parental abandonment, while *Thoroughbreds* is about the numbing effects of privilege on young people. The kids may not be all right, but neither are the parents. —*Eliza Berman*

Deutch in *Flower,* left, and Cooke in *Thoroughbreds*

PERVIOUS PAGE: BEN ROTHSTEIN—20TH CENTURY FOX; NEW CLASSICS: SHUTTERSTOCK (3); IANNUCCI: ROBBY KLEIN—GETTY IMAGES; THOROUGHBREDS: FOCUS FEATURES; FLOWER: THE ORCHARD

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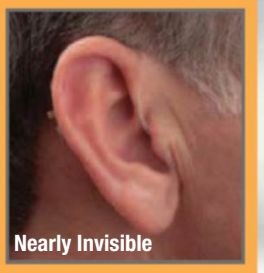

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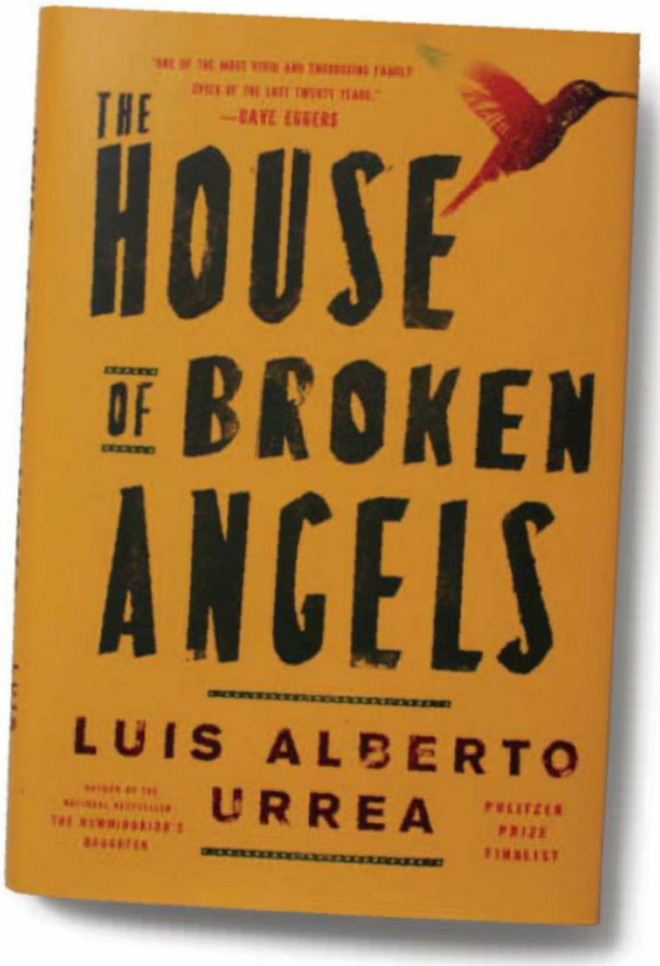
FICTION

A novelist's love song to the Mexican-American *familia*

By Sarah Begley



This is Urrea's fifth novel; his nonfiction The Devil's Highway *was a Pulitzer finalist in 2005*

WHEN THE NOVELIST LUIS ALBERTO Urrea was 14 or 15, he took a trip deep into Mexico. He was born in Tijuana to a Mexican father and a white American mother before moving just across the border and eventually into the San Diego suburbs. But his father thought he was becoming "too American," and took him on a 27-hour journey to Mazatlán. Along the way, his father gave him a paperback copy of *The Godfather* and told him it would change his life. "I don't think he was trying to make a case for us being criminals," Urrea says, "but he really felt this incredible connection to the family and the traditions and the honor for the old country, as people were making their way in the U.S."

In his new novel *The House of Broken Angels,* Urrea has written his own take on the *Godfather* story (sans organized crime) with a Mexican-American Don Corleone figure at its center. The story takes place over two days, as Big Angel de la Cruz buries his mother and celebrates his final birthday party on earth; he knows he's dying, and he's gathered his extended family around him for a boisterous goodbye.

The premise was inspired by the final birthday party of Urrea's elder brother three years ago. "Everybody was jammed in his backyard, and there was a DJ and people dancing and consuming serious tonnage of American junk food—they didn't want Mexican food, they wanted KFC and pizza. I thought, Where are the tacos, dude? And my brother sat in his little chair in the middle of it. People were coming to him and kneeling, and they would thank him and kiss his hand or touch his head and tell him all the ways he had changed their lives."

'I really wanted to write a tribute to my brother, but it's also a love song to the country.'

LUIS ALBERTO URREA

Urrea's brother died of cancer within two weeks at 74, and the poignant event haunted the author. He considered writing a short memoir about it—"I was thinking about Truman Capote, when he did those tiny books about Christmas and Thanksgiving." But his wife encouraged him to aim bigger. When he found himself seated next to the writer Jim Harrison at a dinner event, he shared the story, and Harrison said, "Sometimes God hands you a novel. You have to write it." Urrea thought to himself, "Marching orders from Jim Harrison—this is good stuff. A kid from Tijuana doesn't get that very often."

The House of Broken Angels is a celebration of the Mexican-American family, but it also includes moments of frustration with this country's treatment of the immigrant group. Before he got too sick to work, Big Angel worked in an office and drank coffee from a mug that said EL JEFE. "Yeah, the employees all got the message," Urrea writes. "The beaner was calling himself their boss." In a grocery store, a woman screams at two of his family members that they'll be kicked out of the country soon. "I had to bite down on the bitter reed of my rage, man!" Urrea says. "I was having some pretty serious response to [Donald Trump's] rhetoric. But you know, it may have shocked a lot of the United States to hear this kind of rhetoric and this bald-faced racialism of politics all of a sudden, but to us, this stuff isn't a surprise."

"I really wanted to write a tribute to my brother, to my family and to us, but it's also a love song to the country," Urrea says. "I think people have this weird, horrible view … that immigrants are evil snakes. People don't understand that [immigration is] truly a statement of love for this country, what the country represents. People want to be here and work." And with persistence, become *el jefe.* ◻

FAUX MILK

The dairy aisle's next new thing

By Priya Krishna

ALONG WITH SELF-DRIVING CARS AND A manned trip to Mars, one of modern society's most pressing technological challenges has been developing tasty nondairy alternatives to milk. In the race to fill the nation's cereal bowls and coffee mugs, almond milk has recently reigned supreme, but when the water-guzzling beverage (one almond requires about a gallon of water to grow) got linked to the California drought, the successor to soy milk fell from grace.

Except for soy, no other nondairy milks have caught on domestically. They are too thin, too bitter or contain a long list of artificial thickeners and preservatives: xanthan gum, potassium sorbate, sodium benzoate.

Then came Oatly, the maker of a faux milk made from oats. Oatly is a Swedish company that was founded 25 years ago by a food-science professor named Rickard Oste. He was doing academic research on the prevalence of lactose intolerance and wondered about starting from scratch: finding a source for milk other than cows. In Sweden, oats are a particularly abundant crop, so Oste developed a food-science technology that uses enzymes to liquefy oats into a rich milk in a way that still retained their digestion-boosting fibers. In the same way that cream may be added to milk to give it varying levels of fat, Oatly adds a plant-based canola oil to provide fat content. In Sweden—a dairy-obsessed country—Oatly developed a small but loyal following without much marketing. Then in 2012, Oatly hired a new CEO, Tony Peterson, who gave the company its cheeky but environmentally conscious branding, with packaging that reads, IT'S LIKE MILK, BUT MADE FOR HUMANS and an Instagram account that hawks T-shirts that say, POST MILK GENERATION. As a result, the product gained popularity in Europe.

OATLY ENTERED the U.S. market last March. Oat milk existed in the U.S. before, but Oatly is unusual for its singular focus on oat milk alone.

The company also took a different route to get its product to market. Instead of reaching out to large supermarkets, Oatly chose coffee shops as its testing ground in the U.S. Mike Messersmith, Oatly's U.S. general manager, sent out samples of Oatly's barista edition (the brand's whole-milk equivalent). "From there it just expanded way faster than we thought," he says. "The coffee community is so intertwined, and baristas are always sharing tips and tricks."

GOT NONDAIRY? Alternative milks are projected to be a $16 billion global industry in 2018, according to Innova Market Insights.

James McLaughlin, president and CEO of Intelligentsia Coffee, the first company to sign on with Oatly, said that drinks made with its milk now comprise 13% of all beverages ordered across the shop's 10 locations—outpacing both almond and soy milk. "It's the first time my baristas have gotten behind an alternative milk in an intense way," he says. "We started stocking the liter cartons on our shelves because customers were like, 'I want to take this home.'"

Caroline Bell, co-owner of Café Grumpy in New York City, says, "We had tried soy, almond, hemp, coconut, and nothing worked with coffee." With some varieties, you couldn't taste the coffee; with others, the milk would curdle. The oat fibers plus the added oil in the barista edition of Oatly give the milk a thicker consistency, which produces a stable, undulating foam that will hold for a long time. The milk also contains an acidity regulator called dipotassium phosphate, which ensures that it doesn't separate when mixed with an acidic drink like coffee. The effect is not exactly as creamy and foamy as whole milk, but it was the best-performing substitute these baristas had encountered.

This time last year, Oatly was stocked in 10 coffee shops in the U.S. Now the product is in more than 1,000 shops. By the end of this quarter, it will be in a couple hundred grocery stores in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions, including Wegmans, Fairway and ShopRite.

According to Innova Market Insights, a food and beverage research firm, alternative milks are projected to be a $16 billion global industry in 2018. Oatly may be the first to find how much oats can sow from bounty. □

OATLY: ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

While many factors affect heart disease, diets low in saturated fat and cholesterol may reduce the risk of heart disease.
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The Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the third most popular park last year

America's most popular park

By Talia Avakian

OF THE U.S.'S 417 NATIONAL PARK SITES, one—the Blue Ridge Parkway, a 469-mile stretch of land that extends from North Carolina to Virginia—is now the most popular.

Known as "America's Favorite Drive," the Blue Ridge Parkway weaves through mountain towns along the Appalachians starting from Virginia. In 2017, more than 16 million people visited the site, bumping it ahead of 2016's most popular national park, San Francisco's Golden Gate National Recreation Area, according to the National Park Service's annual Visitation Highlights report.

Blue Ridge Parkway is home to aging roads that stem back to 1935, which is why the National Park Service is in the midst of a renovation project there. Other scenic roadways in the national park system that were popular with travelers last year include the George Washington Memorial Parkway and Mississippi's 444-mile Natchez Trace Parkway.

National park officials have spoken out about the need for park maintenance, in part to keep up with the crowds. There were roughly 331 million visitors to national park sites in 2017.

Other popular national park sites include the Great Smoky Mountains, which came in third, with 11.3 million visits, the Lincoln Memorial, which came in fifth, and the Grand Canyon, which came in ninth.

Ease of access tends to boost popularity. Parkways and most recreation areas have neither gates nor admission fees, while destination parks like the Grand Canyon charge entrance fees starting at $15, although even those are waived on four days this year. ◻

SHORT TRIPS

The case against selfies

Selfies may not be as flattering as you think. Selfies taken from a foot away from your face **may distort the dimensions and proportions of your nose** enough to make it appear roughly 30% larger than it is, according to a research letter published in *JAMA Facial Plastic Surgery*. Photos taken from 5 ft. away, by contrast, lead to no such distortions. So back off.

A craft beer in every tap

BrewDog, a Scottish beermaker, has announced plans to open its first beer hotel in early 2019. When the 26-room DogHouse hotel opens, guests will have **access to cold brews straight from the comfort of their rooms.** Each room will feature beer taps. The hotel, which will be located at the brewery's headquarters, will have rooms that overlook the brewery to give guests a behind-the-scenes look at how brewers work.

MOUNTAINS: KRISTI PARSONS; BEER: GETTY IMAGES

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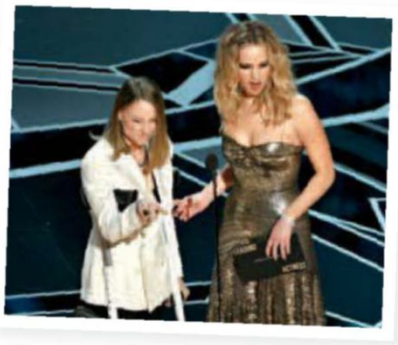
TimeOff PopChart

SPECIAL OSCARS EDITION

Tiffany Haddish and Maya Rudolph **charmed viewers by riffing on the #OscarsSoWhite controversy** while presenting the awards for Documentary Short and Live Action Short.

Nicole Kidman and Sandra Bullock **reminisced about their time filming the 1998 cult classic *Practical Magic*** when they crossed paths on the red carpet.



While presenting the award for Best Actress alongside fellow past winner Jennifer Lawrence, actor Jodie Foster **joked that she was on crutches because nominee Meryl Streep had "*I, Tonya*–ed" her.**

Costume designer Mark Bridges **scored a free jet ski** after he gave the shortest acceptance speech of the night.

'I did it all by myself.'

ALLISON JANNEY, actor, jokingly thanking herself while accepting the award for Best Supporting Actress

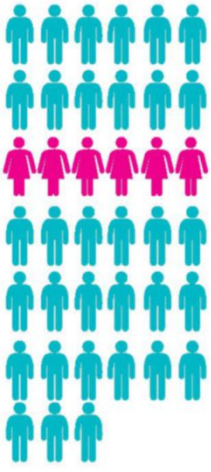
LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

'Literally a magic trick.'

MATTHEW MCCONAUGHEY, actor, misusing the word *literally* while presenting the award for Best Film Editing, baffling viewers online

Despite the rise of the Time's Up and #MeToo movements, **just six women won awards this year, compared with 33 men**—the lowest number of female winners since 2012.



26.5

TV rating for the 90th Academy Awards, an **all-time low,** and down nearly 20% from last year's 32.9 rating

Host Jimmy Kimmel interrupted a **theater full of people attending a screening of *A Wrinkle in Time*** for an awkward bit that he said was intended to show appreciation for moviegoers.

A 47-year-old man was **arrested on suspicion of felony theft** after allegedly attempting to steal Best Actress winner Frances McDormand's Oscar statuette at an afterparty.

GETTY IMAGES (9)

By Megan McCluskey

Jordan Peterson The formerly obscure Canadian psychology professor and current best-selling author on whether he's an enemy of the marginalized or a speaker of unpopular truth

Are you surprised at the success of *12 Rules for Life: An Antidote to Chaos*, which has been No. 1 on Amazon for several weeks? Surprised barely covers it. I can't reconcile myself to what's been happening since September 2016.

How did it start? I put three videos [on YouTube]. One objecting to new legislation in Canada that required a form of compelled speech under the guise of compassion for the downtrodden. Another objecting to the University of Toronto's requirement that its human-resources staff undergo unconscious-bias training, which I regard as scientifically suspect. And another detailing the structure of what I regard as the politically correct game.

Is it fair to say that you attract a lot of young male followers who are quite angry? I don't believe that's true.

You never worry about things that are said by your fans? Oh, sure, I worry about them. But I have irrefutable evidence that I've pulled thousands of young men away from the attractions of the "alt right." Part of the core information that I've been purveying is that identity politics is a sick game. The left plays it on behalf of the oppressed, let's say, and the right plays it on behalf of nationalism and ethnic pride. I think they're equally dangerous. The correct game, as far as I'm concerned, is one where you focus on your individual life and try to take responsibility for your actions.

When you seek to represent the oppressed, don't you end up representing a lot of people who are part of some kind of gender or ethnic minority? In the 1970s, when the French intellectuals were forced to abandon their Marxism because of its obvious catastrophic murderousness, they played sleight of hand and transformed Marxism into identity politics. I don't think it has anything to do with concern for the well-being of the oppressed.

"I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY EVIDENCE THAT WOMEN ARE BEING SYSTEMICALLY HELD BACK"

How do you feel about the LBGTQI movement? It's had its beneficial effects. It's very well organized and had a tremendous amount of political and sociological success in the last three decades. But now it's an activist bureaucracy with nowhere left to go. It's not going to just voluntarily dismantle itself. So now humanities departments at universities have become part of that activist bureaucracy. They have become completely dominated by radical leftists. That's a reflection of the empirical facts. It's not something I'm inventing.

Would you suggest that trying to give a bigger voice to minorities and to women who feel they have been systemically held back ... First, I don't think there is any evidence that women are being systemically held back. Not in the West. I think we're past that by about a decade.

Except that we have many more women than men graduating from every level of university and yet they rarely get to the C-suite or the boards. What is going on there? I know exactly what's going on there. If you want to occupy the C-suite or the top 1% in any organization, you have to be obsessively devoted to your career at the expense of everything else. And women look at that and they think, No. So you actually have to reverse the question. The question isn't why aren't more women in the C-suite. The question is, Why are there any men? Because it's the men who are willing to be obsessive about their careers and work 80 hours a week nonstop and hyperefficiently. The hyperproductivity of a minority characterizes every domain where there's creative production. And almost all of the hyperproductive people are men.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

DANIEL HAMBURY—EVENING STANDARD/EYEVINE/REDUX

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